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# ***JPRS Report***

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## **East Europe**

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## EAST EUROPE

## CONTENTS

## POLITICAL

## HUNGARY

Galgoczi on Writers' Situation, New Union (Erzsebet Galgoczi; ELET ES IRODALOM, 8 May 87) .....	1
Limits, State Control of Voluntary Groups Outlined (Antal Adam; PARTELET, No 2, Feb 87) .....	5

## POLAND

Public Consultations, Referendum Bill Provokes Reports, Discussion (Various sources, various dates) .....	12
Constitutional Change Required, by Jadwiga Mikolajczyk	12
Socio-Economic Council Endorsement, by Jadwiga Mikolajczyk	13
Repeated Alterations, Discussions Noted, by Ryszarda Kazimierska	15
Sejm Notes National Defense Issues	18
Middle-Ground Solution Sought, by Zygmunt Niewiadomski	20
Sejm Completes Bill Discussion	22
Economic Weekly Commentary, by Irena Dryll	23
Press Commentary on Eve of Papal Visit (Various sources, various dates) .....	33
Poll Gauges Public Expectations, A. Kania Interview	33
Foreign Press Coverage Noted	35
Polish Vatican Commentator Anticipates Visit	36

PZPR Daily Comments on Pope's Foreign Travels, by Marek Kulesza	42
Comments From Catholic Press, Jedynak	45
Catholic Press Voices Expectations of Papal Visit (Various sources, various dates) .....	48
Krakow Weekly Notes 'Manipulation'	48
Warsaw Weekly Seeks Restoration of Hope	50
Academic, Activist Offer Views, by August Chelkowski, Tadeusz Jedynak	52
'Examination of Conscience' Called for, by Andrzej Wielowieyski	55
Effects of Pope's Visit, Words	56
Catholic Weekly Covers Papal Visit (TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, Nos 24, 25; 14, 21 Jun 87) .....	58
Newsprint Supply Correction	58
Cost Disclosure Provokes Response, by Piotr Wierzbicki	59
Turowicz Anticipates Effects, by Jerzy Turowicz	60
Pope's Call to Action Viewed, by Maciej Zieba	61
Doubt, Apathy Hoped to End, by Andrzej Romanowski	62
Gdansk Visit Described, by Tadeusz Szyma	63
Lodz Factory Visit, by Jacek Rakowiecki	67
Formerly Censored Author on Writers Union, Other Issues (Bogdan Madej Interview; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 10 Apr 87) .....	72
ROMANIA	
Communist Party Role Discussed, Membership Statistics Given (Liviu Coptil; CRONICA, No 19, 8 May 87) .....	78
'DER SPIEGEL' Interview With Romanian Emigre Writers (Herta Mueller, Richard Wagner Interview; DER SPIEGEL, No 19, 4 May 87) .....	81
Discussion of Morality-Religion Relationship (Vasile Popescu; SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, No 11,822, 6 Jun 87)	89
MILITARY	
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC	
Worker Militia Artillery Training Described (Behr; DER KAEMPFER, No 4, Apr 87) .....	95
ECONOMIC	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	
Low Quality Hidden Behind Anonymity of Producer (RUDE PRAVO, 13 Feb 87) .....	97

Economic Restructuring, 'Turnaround in Thinking' Linked (Milan Matejka; HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, No 7, 1986) .....	100
--	-----

## SOCIAL

### HUNGARY

Statistics on Churchgoers (OTLET, 30 Apr 87) .....	113
---	-----

New Retirement Law Under Consideration (Adam Forgacs Interview; NEPSZABADSAG, 9 May 87) .....	115
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## GALGOCZI ON WRITERS' SITUATION, NEW UNION

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 8 May 87 p 4

[Article by Erzsebet Galgoczi: "For the Sake of Every Writer"]

[Text] In 1949, at the age of 19 I was hired by the Gyor Wagon Works as a lathe operator trainee. Having worked a few days at the lathe, a young man not known to me before asked that I join the union. What's that, I asked. Other than some incomprehensible generalities he provided only one specific piece of information: the union organizes the work contest.

Considering the way our mother brought us up, none of her children could have become inferior workers. And so I felt that I need not be "organized" to do good work. After learning that it was not mandatory to join, except for the fact that everyone joined, I did not.

Ever since that time I have not worked at a place where they would have asked whether I wanted to join the union. Following my graduation from the academy I was employed for a year and a half. After 1956, like many of my peers, I too became a "free swimmer." I was forced to become a "free-lance intellectual writer." And now that I no longer--or, perhaps not yet--sense an excessive need for someone to protect my interests, I was asked to join the writers union. My answer was in the affirmative.

I joined because the difficult years at the beginning of my career came to mind. It does not matter that those years coincided with my youth, I never wanted to relive those years, and I do not wish the experience of those years for anyone.

I came to Budapest in 1950. Until my first official recognition in 1962 I was in a continuous state of virtual destitution. But then, except for a narrow stratum, the entire nation was destitute. At the age of 35 I was able for the first time to claim my own apartment--following 13 sub-leased furnished rooms. As I used to sarcastically claim: until that time "all the espresso establishments throughout Budapest served as my work room," because in those furnished rooms either the desk, or the heating, or both were missing. At age 24 I wrote a novel about "love being consumed by destitution." Since then I

discovered that poverty also consumes the inclination to work, ambition as well as health.

Today's young are faced with the same problems, except at a higher level. The difference in level is that of the nation's development over the past decades, but the essential difficulties remain the same. And the older ones? There is a large number of retired writers on small pensions who deserve all the support after a life full of struggles and sacrifice. And the middle-aged ones? What if they are sick? What if they go through a family crisis? What if they consistently write about things that are deemed to be unpublishable by the often overly cautious leaders of intellectual workshops? Someone asked me: is he, who has not written for years, still a writer? First of all: a writer, once he deserved this rank, will always be a writer, even if he chops wood, washes dishes or gazes about on the street. It is only that something caused the world, or part of the world not "jell" in his head. World literature produced several examples of one or another significant writer who wrote nothing for years. And then, inside, like some underground spring, the creative forces began bubbling again.

The idea of a Union of Writers--let's call it that for the sake of brevity--emerged already four years ago, and has become a reality after lengthy negotiations. Following approval by the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT], the organizing committee sent out 150 exploratory letters primarily to free-lance writers. One-hundred and eleven writers responded in the affirmative. The basic unit held its organizational meeting 31 January 1987 with 31 writers participating. Officers were elected by secret ballot. The Union's committee held its first meeting on 13 February.

Three days after the establishment of our Union, on 2 February I travelled to West Germany in response to an official invitation. Literary meetings were held in four cities. The first question at each conference pertained to the writers' union. Based on Western press reports there was total confusion, even though the reports referenced the MTI and minister Bela Kopeczi's article in NEPSZABADSAG. On 9 February LE MONDE squarely stated that a new organization to counter the Writers Association was formed, that it was composed of those members of the old Writers Association who quit, and that oddly, I was elected president of the new organization. I, who did not quit, I, who moreover remains an executive committee member of the Hungarian Writers Association. (The latter are my words, not those of LE MONDE.)

The above demonstrates that our union came into being under difficult circumstances, and by no means to counter the Writers Association. And not to counter those writers who quit either! We are an interest group. We work to improve the living and working conditions of all writers.

I do not believe that organizing a "work contest" among writers is one of our tasks. To the contrary. I do believe that an excessive number of books is being published, not to mention the number of those that are written and remain unpublished! Above all, we must establish a financial base for our operations.

The publication of Hungarian literary works no longer subject to royalty payments benefits only the publishers, printers and distributors. It is for this reason that we recommend that after every printed copy (and adaptation) of a work that is not subject to royalty payments, the interested firms should pay the Writers Union a certain sum of money for the support of the Union's social, financial aid and developmental fund. This would be an appropriate and fair contribution toward the support of the present and the future by those who "profit" from the literary past. This would relieve us from the need to seek state support.

Hopefully we will have other resources also. We are planning to establish a writers' home for aging, lonesome writers, and for those who are at the beginning of their careers. For this purpose we could make use of the assets of writers who have deceased and left no heirs. These assets are often wasted or lost. We recommend that it be permitted to receive contributions for purposes of the writers' home. Moreover, we also would like to lay claim on the vacated apartments of aging writers who make use of the writers' home.

At this point we have reached the problem. A situation in which book publishing falls under the jurisdiction of three ministries is untenable. These are the ministries of Culture and Education, Industry and Domestic Commerce, (overseeing publishers, printers and distributors, respectively.) The three trades function in the framework of three different, often contradictory regulatory systems. The resultant damage is suffered mostly by new Hungarian literature. By all means it would be necessary to qualify book printing and book distribution, in addition to book publishing, as basic cultural functions, and their economic regulatory system should reflect this fact. Much more could be said about this subject, but this is obviously an organic part of the (at the least confused) regulatory system that blankets our entire people's economy.

The authors' contracts with publishers, television and the film industry are governed by Law No. 3 of 1969, and subsequent related rules. The essence of these regulations is that cultural institutions have rights vis-a-vis the writers, and writers have duties only. We want to modify the contract provisions so as to assure an equal legal footing for the author against the arbitrary power of cultural enterprises.

The system of royalties is also antiquated and unfavorable to writers. We find it necessary that following a one-time, radical settlement, the authors' honoraria systematically and automatically keep in step with annual wage increases projected in the national people's economy plan ("moving scale".)

We find it unfair that on grounds of existing legal provisions, television can obtain perpetual rights to the works of authors, on the basis of a single payment, without paying a cent for repeat showings. This practice adversely influences television programming policies also: it is more comfortable to bore and to aggravate viewers with "proven" TV movies and games, than to assume the risks that accompany new creations.

A script is the foundation of a motion picture. Yet, the value of the script after which the honorarium is paid is so small that it cannot even be expressed as a percentage of the motion picture's budget. Therefore, it is our aim that authors receive an honorarium based on a fair percentage of the motion picture's budget and income. They may also share the proceeds derived from foreign showings, in the form of foreign travel, compensation for having achieved a high standard, or as a premium.

We find it objectionable that from the viewpoint of taxation writers are lumped together with private entrepreneurs. Not only because of a qualitative difference in "goods produced," but also because the state is the writer's sole customer and thus all of the writer's income is accounted for. In contrast, a small tradesman or a small businessman pays taxes on the basis of his own admission of income. We would like to achieve certain tax reductions related to apartment purchases, exchanges, renewals and maintenance. Such reductions are appropriate because the apartment is the writer's workplace. It is possible that I am pounding on open doors. A new tax law is being written, and this evokes some good general feelings not only in writers but in the entire nation.

We plan to broaden the system of scholarships in the interest of those who are at the beginning of their careers, and to facilitate their continued education, we plan to broaden scholarships abroad also.

We feel that the teaching of the Hungarian language and literature is being neglected at all levels of education. And we could talk about the apartment problems of the young, about their medical care, about difficulties in having access to family vacations, and a number of other matters.

Needless to say, we do not expect "short term" results in response to our "long term" program. For decades, all the artists--actors, movie makers, painters and sculptors, musicians, etc.-- had their respective unions. The time has come for us also to establish our union.

We are still stumbling about in baby boots amidst the labyrinth of regulations, possibilities and impossibilities. But...We do have the support of the Federation of Artists' Trade Unions [MSZSZ], moreover of SZOT, complete with their political weight and accumulated experience. Their help and our responsibility assures that our work will not have been in vain.

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CSO: 2500/359

## LIMITS, STATE CONTROL OF VOLUNTARY GROUPS OUTLINED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 2, Feb 1987 pp 29-34

[Article by Antal Adam, Professor of Janus Pannonius University of Arts and Sciences: "The Role of Associations and Federations"]

[Text] In Hungary, associations constitute a large segment of the community of social organizations. All were established voluntarily, have a membership on record and are self-inspired. The legal status and role of associations, however, differs from that of other, politically motivated social organizations. In the world of associations, the fundamental rules of organization, as well as roles and functions are prescribed by law. An association is considered to be legally established only if a competent governmental supervisory authority has registered the association. The several supervisory authorities having jurisdiction over the diverse group of associations oversee the legality of association actions, compliance with the respective bylaws, as well as the internal management of associations. Paralleling the process of socialist development which calls for a rather broad range of social activities, the role of other social organizations, groups and movements, including associations, is also on the increase and is becoming more colorful. One finds useful association work in the most diverse fields of human endeavour. Work has picked up, and an increasing number of associations have come into being, particularly during the past few years.

A number of circumstances served as catalysts to increase and invigorate association life:

(a) The pluralistic nature of Hungarian society, the strengthening manifestation of differentiated views and the conscious realization of differences. An increase in organizational, self-start and entrepreneurial activities. At the same time, a sense of responsibility is also gaining strength there is a willingness to act for the sake of economic and cultural progress, to strengthen the roots of democracy in public life, for Hungary's position on the international scene, and for the future of the present and coming generations. The extent to which small group interests and endeavours have surfaced in on the increase, and so is the need to provide an organized structure in which individual ambitions can prevail.

(b) A sense of belonging for whatever reason, and the recognition of the advantages of, and the need for organized relationships.

(c) A broadening of the social and political democracy. Leading political forces and state authorities make possible, and find an increasing need for the organizational conduct of both small and large communities of people. Such conduct, however, must not conflict with the fundamental interests of socialism, must be consistent with the purposes set out in the respective organizations' bylaws, and must permit the expression of opinion regarding social problems, as those pertain to the respective organizations' functional scope.

The primary function of associations is not the molding of the political will, nor is it the influencing and control of the exercise of state power. Generally speaking, association members gather in response to individual inclinations, abilities, education, ambition and enjoyment, so as to produce more benefit through collective cooperation, and to ensure the fulfillment of ambitions by taking advantage of an organized setting. Quite naturally, in trying to make their interests prevail, association members do not limit themselves to internal activities. They represent those interests externally, through relationships with politically oriented social organizations and with state authorities.

In a manner similar to other forms of social organization, associations also provide a forum for the exercise of some important civil rights, in addition to certain rights that are inherent in their establishment and functioning. Notably: the right to express one's opinion, and within that, the freedom of the press, the right to offer suggestions and to make criticisms in the public interest, creative freedom in the sciences and the arts, the right to secure a healthy environment, etc., and the right to fulfill other obligations of citizens. Through structured organizational life, through internal functional forms, and through scientific, professional, artistic, cultural, social, environmental, preservationist, sporting, etc. activities, associations become places where the molding and exercise of communal self-education and social democracy takes place. Accordingly, the advantages of a continued increase in the number of associations and of association members, the benefits flowing from an increasing variety of associations and from the enrichment of association goals and objectives, and the positive contributions that can be expected from the further development of self-initiated activities thus become apparent. It is for these reasons that associations deserve political, social and state support.

Associations strengthen the social fiber and enrich the exercise of social democracy. They expand the opportunities of voluntary, planned, public interest social activities. They broaden the framework of useful, meaningful and enjoyable community life. Associations contribute to the people's ability to spend their free time in pleasant, meaningful and high quality enjoyment. They permit to draw the line between the social sphere and the state sphere in a more pronounced manner. By performing certain community functions, associations relieve the government from having to perform those functions, and thus provide state budgetary savings. Associations reduce the dangers presented by an over-sized state apparatus, and of the preponderance of

governmental activities. They enhance the enrichment of individual member capabilities, develop the members' preparedness to act out of societal concern, and improve the members' conduct and sense of community belonging. Associations encourage mutual consideration, courtesy and support, as well as the development of other personal values and traits, such as diligence, fairness, the demand for high standards, a sense of responsibility and the determination to stand fast. They also encourage the use of civilized forms of social contact.

Accordingly, the existence and functioning of associations--one that is consistent with the constitution--is important as a matter of developing individual member personalities, as well as from the viewpoint of enriching the nation and bringing about social progress. The expansion of the world of associations, the invigoration of their activities and the improvement of legal provisions applicable to associations is organically linked to endeavours to further develop the Hungarian political system.

The matter of expanding the role and activities of associations, the associations' right to petition governmental authorities by presenting public interest initiatives, recommendations and grievances needs to be clarified, however. Similarly, the duty of governmental authorities to examine and to respond to associations must be clearly established. At present the law mandates that the government examine, settle and respond to suggestions, problem recognitions, complaints and to public interest information received from individual citizens only. At present it hinges upon the benevolence and discretion of governmental authorities whether they respond to organizational communications that are in the public interest. There is no legal mandate to act in response to petitions received from organizations. Such communications are beyond the pale of the administrative process.

Variety is one of the outstanding characteristics of our associations. Associations are diverse regarding their goals and objectives, their membership size, their functional breakdown, size of assets, extent of public benefit provided, the degree and amount of existing state support (or lack of it,) the allocation of state supervisory power, etc. This then provides several vantage points for the classification of associations.

Based on the breadth of activities and the underlying organizational structure, autonomy and relationships, there are national and local associations. Local organizations may be active within villages, cities, metropolitan areas, counties and regions. National associations may have local chapters. Within such local chapters there may be some functional groups in villages, cities, counties and regions. National and local associations having the same purpose gather in the framework of federations. The legal status of federations is essentially the same as that of their member associations. Accordingly, a federation too qualifies as an association. A federation's activities are focused on harmonizing and supporting the efforts of member associations, and to protect their interests. With respect to certain issues, federations represent all of their member associations, and provide for uniform program implementation. There are some organizations, however, that are called "federations," even though they do not have associations as their members. The Hungarian Lawyers Federation is one example.

The composition of presently existing Hungarian associations significantly differs from the community of associations that existed prior to liberation. As a result of the revolutionary social, political and economic changes that took place, various organizations that were previously linked to the overthrown system and to the related ideology ceased to exist. These include associations, and many associations simply became unnecessary. The dogmatic, sectarian political practice of personal cult that followed liberation caused several associations worthy of survival and transformation to falter, along with the changes that were needed for social development. During the same era several new associations that would have been needed were not established at all.

At present there are 8,000 associations in Hungary. Forty-six percent of these are sports associations; 31 percent of all association members belong to sports associations. Ranked by size, fire fighters', hunters' and fishermen's associations constitute the largest groups after sports associations. Sixty-four percent of all Hungarian associations was formed following liberation--thirty percent of these came into being during the past 15 years. Seven percent of the existing associations was formed prior to the 20th Century.

The substantive and useful workings of scientific, artistic, cultural and social associations deserves recognition. And so does the growing number and expanding scope of associations concerned with municipal and urban aesthetics. They instill a healthy sense of parochialism into people, contribute to the exploration and preservation of material values in various settlements, and encourage participation in the formulation and realization of rational municipal and urban plans. The number of naturalist and environmentalist associations is on the increase--consistent with their bylaws, these groups utilize special approaches to inform their membership of issues pertaining to the protection and the development of the natural habitat and the environment. We may count on a further increase in the number of professional associations, whose primary purpose is to provide mutual support and an effective representation of interests. The growth of associations that attract retired persons and individuals afflicted with certain diseases and handicaps has already begun, and is expected to continue. Humanitarian and charitable associations too will experience growth. Responsive to one of the cornerstones of our youth policy, a functional association framework for the sporting activities of the young is in the process of development. Similarly, the circle of associations whose purpose it is to cultivate hobbies is expanding.

Several organizations (clubs, circles, amateur associations) which are not autonomous, but function in the framework of one or another social organization (PPF, KISZ, etc.) or some state institution (e.g. cultural homes,) are now in the process of establishing conditions for becoming autonomous associations.

The Education Act of 1985 and related statutory provisions have established an opportunity for the broadening and enrichment of youth organizational life. These provisions permit student community groups and other self-inspired organizations to participate in social self-governance. The criteria by which



student groups that do not qualify as associations, nevertheless are eligible for self-governance, are detailed in a body of internal rules promulgated by the respective institutions attended by the students. The functioning of such self-governing student groups is overseen by the state-appointed head of the institution. In this framework four major categories of rights, tasks and responsibilities may be distinguished:

- (1) Self-governing student organizations may establish leadership and working groups, and may determine their functional forms by virtue of their vested rights;
- (2) They are independent insofar as the financing of their authorized tasks is concerned. Self-governing student organizations, however, are not legal persons. They may become legal persons only on the basis of high level governmental action having the force of law;
- (3) Pursuant to law, these self-governing student bodies participate in the realization of certain goals and tasks established by the state (teaching, public education, the arts, etc.); and
- (4) Self-governing student bodies are entitled to rights related to broadly based interest representation and interest protection.

One can assume that the experience gained from the regulation of self-governing student bodies may serve as a model for the recognition and definition of self-governance in societally based, voluntary, small and large communities of people.

Legal provisions governing the establishment of associations, limitations on what may be incorporated into bylaws, and the limitation of activities that may be pursued by the association--in brief: the interests in regards to which citizens may exercise the right of association--are extremely flexible. According to these provisions, any association may pursue as its purpose "cultural development and other activities that citizens pursue." Quite naturally, no association's purpose and function may conflict with the nation's socialistic order, including society, the economy and the state, and no association may stand in violation of laws. We should also mention that no association may be formed expressly for economic purposes, this prohibition, however, does not rule out business activities that are desirable in every organization. Associations too must pursue rational, thrifty financial management practices.

Associations are legal persons. An association may establish an enterprise, subject to approval by the supervisory state authority. This purpose would be well served if in order to enhance their fundamental purposes, organizations whose primary function is not to do business (i.e. state institutions and social organizations,) would be managed lawfully, in a rational, imaginative and successful manner, while, at the same time, they could establish the financial and material conditions for the pursuit of their primary goals, i.e. their public interest activities, through enterprising and service provisions. All this should be supported by law, as well as by the stimulating and supportive work of the political and the state sectors.

The total 1982 budget for all associations amounted to 3.8 billion forints. Ten percent of this significant amount was derived from membership dues, 37 percent represents support provided by various state authorities and institutions, 12 percent was accrued in the form of meetings income, and 41 percent came from other sources. Compared to the total income--even on a numerical basis--the degree of support received varies greatly, according to the purposes of the associations. A rather high level of support--74 percent--was provided to artistic associations, 64 percent to fire fighter associations, and 61 percent to sports associations. The level of support is low with respect to hunting associations, and it does not even reach one percent of the budgets of insurance and animal husbandry associations.

The Press Law of 1986 reinforced the right of associations to produce periodicals and other publications, as long as those publications stay within legal limits. The duty to satisfy the citizens' and collectives' right to be informed applies to associations also, just as it does to the press. Publishing activities are significant external manifestations of association life. According to Central Statistical Office [KSH] data, in 1982 various associations produced 266 publications. Scientific associations produced the largest number of publications (119.) Sports associations rank second with 66 publications, while artistic and cultural associations publicized their activities in 33 publications.

A significant part of the publications (122) appears in small numbers (less than 1,000 copies,) and the number of publications printed in 1,001-5,000 copies is almost the same. The number of printed copies correlates with the publishing association's membership size. This too explains why the number of large-volume publications is so small. Publications produced in more than 10,000 copies include AUTOSELET [Motoring Life] with 305,000 copies, MAGYAR HORGASZ [Hungarian Fisherman] with 66,000 copies, NIMROD [hunting journal] with 49,000 copies, MUSZAKI ELET [Technical Life] with 41,000 copies, KUTYA [Dog] with 23,000 copies and FILATELIAI SZEMLE [Philatelic Review] with 18,000 copies.

Depending on their situation, associations are being supervised by one of the following organizations. The minister having jurisdiction, or the governmental body of a national scope that has jurisdiction supervises the activities of national associations and their local chapters. Local associations in general, are supervised by the regulatory division of the executive committee of the city, or by the district council, jointly with the appropriate specialized regulatory groups, corresponding to the association's domicile. The governmental supervision of regional associations outside of municipal, city, and suburban jurisdictions needs to be settled.

The Ministry of Interior and its organs control the fact that organizing work aimed at the establishment of an association be pursued only after such organizing work had been announced to the supervisory authority, alternatively, that association activities be pursued only by organizations that are registered with the supervisory authorities.

Concerning the nature of supervision, we should first emphasize that on the basis of 1981 and 1983 statutory revisions pertaining to associations,

societal supervision is on the increase. Under these provisions the supervision of national associations is performed by social organizations, while the supervision of local organizations is transferred to the respective national associations (federations.)

It would be societally useful and desirable to have cooperative, mutually stimulating and supportive relationships between the supervisory authorities and the associations. The fact that the supervisory authorities' specialized interest corresponds with the associations' purposes and profile suggests that in general, the supervisory authority would have an interest in the supervised association's vigorous and successful performance. Most of the time an association provides an organized societal background, and a significant social "surplus" for the performance of the governmental functions of the supervisory authority. It is to the advantage of both the supervisory authority and the association, if the supervisory authority enhances the functioning of the association, assists in the establishment of conditions for successful functioning, alleviates the resolution of problems, prevents irregularities by calling attention to various issues, and by providing professional and other counsel. The association's initiatives, problem resolutions and communal effects may equally benefit the supervisory authority.

The supervisory authority is empowered to question the legality and propriety of association activities, and may conduct financial audits. In this context, the supervisory authority may utilize methods of control used by the government and other authorities. It would be desirable to conduct the internal financial management of associations in a democratic manner, in the open, in the plain view of the membership. This would tend to relieve external control authorities from financial and material audits. In this way, the financial control power of the supervisory authority would increasingly assume the character of a safety valve.

12995

CSO: 2500/413

## PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS, REFERENDUM BILL PROVOKES REPORTS, DISCUSSION

## Constitutional Change Required

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Mar 87 pp 1,2

[Article by Jadwiga Mikolajczyk: "Introducing the Referendum Requires a Constitutional Amendment" surtitled "Legislative Initiative of the Sejm's Extraordinary Commission"]

[Text] The Extraordinary Commission for The Draft Decree on Public Consultations and Referendums decided at its 30 March session that introducing a referendum requires an amendment to the Constitution. The Commission resolved to initiate the related legislation.

The Commission-drafted bill for amending the Constitution provides for revising its Article 2. Paragraph 1 of that Article is to be reworded as follows:

"-- The laboring people exercise power in the state by means of:

"1) its representatives in the PRL Sejm and people's councils, as elected by universal, equal, and direct suffrage, through secret balloting;

"2) referendums."

The same Article of the Constitution also is complemented with the new Paragraph 2 declaring that the principles and procedure for conducting referendums will be determined by the Decree.

Before this basic decision was taken, the Commission, chaired by Deputy Roman Pillardy (PZPR), confirmed by way of numerous comments by Deputies, the validity of the general concept of the Decree governing public consultations, national referendums, and local referendums.

Referring to the pertinent recommendations of the Team of Sejm Advisers, the Deputies acknowledged that its critical comments on the draft Decree are valuable and should be thoroughly considered. They did not, however, accept the conclusions ensuing from these comments to the effect that, essentially, the issue of public consultations should not be settled legislatively, the

amending of the Constitution with provisions on national referendums should be postponed, and for the moment only the issue of local referendums should be considered.

It was stressed that the consultations are a permanent element of public life. Legislating their course would enhance their importance (Deputy Sylwester Zawadzki, PZPR). Since they are not always properly organized and utilized, the corresponding principles should be legislated (Deputies Jerzy Jaskiernia, PZPR, and Piotr Stefanski, Democratic Party). We often employ the term [public] consultation carelessly, because corresponding norms, principles, and procedural rules are lacking. This institution has to be perfected, which requires deliberate and thorough work on the draft decree (Deputies Zbigniew Pruszkowski, PZPR, and Stanislaw Stasiak, United Peasant Party).

Eleven of the Deputies taking the floor supported the constituent referendum and declared that this requires amending the Constitution. Only one Deputy, Adam Swiatek (PZPR), believes that this should not be done at present, and should rather be postponed until the coming revision of the Constitution.

The referendum is a novel systemic institution, serving to promote the participation of citizens in the exercise of power, and hence it has to be "inscribed" in the Constitution, according to Deputy Edward Szymanski (PZPR). Since the Constitution provides for public consultations, this is all the more reason why it also should provide for such an institution of direct democracy as the referendum -- this is a question of the importance of that institution. Many other arguments in favor of the Commission's decision referred to above were advanced.

The next session of the Commission is scheduled for 9 April.

\*

The Editors have learned that the draft decree for amending the Constitution has been added to the Sejm Speaker's agenda. The reporting Deputy will be Sylwester Zawadzki.

#### Socio-Economic Council Endorsement

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Jadwiga Mikolajczyk: "Detailing the Issue: The Opinion of the Socio-Economic Council under the Sejm" surtitled "On Public Consultations and Referendums"]

[Text] "The Socio-Economic Council supports the ideas of the Sejm's draft decree on public consultations and referendums. It views this draft as an important step in the direction of an institutional safeguarding of the Constitutional principle that 'the PRL translates into reality and develops socialist democracy.'"

Such is the conclusion of the recommendations adopted by the Council at its 2 April session. They were drafted by a taskforce of 19 Council members chaired

by Gwidon Rysiak (a lawyer from Jagiellonian University); at the plenary discussion last Thursday 11 members voiced their opinions. They took different positions on both the main issue, i.e., the advantages of the proposed legal regulation and its expected acceptance by public opinion, and on particular issues.

Barbara Blida (engineer, FABUD Enterprise in Siemianowice, Silesia) asked whether legal regulation, which implies attaching great importance to public consultations and referendums, might not also be interpreted as proof of the weakness and incompetence of representative bodies.

Jerzy Jaskiernik, who proposed the draft decree on behalf of the Deputies who conceived it, commented on this matter, among others, It has been asked here and there, he declared, whether this might not represent a vote of no confidence in the Sejm and the people's councils. No, there is no such intent. This is simply intended to enrich the system of people's rule.

The apprehensions voiced by Krzysztof T. Toeplitz are linked to the sometimes expressed doubt as to whether the creation of new institutions with the intent of broadening democracy might not weaken the already existing mechanisms. Allowance should be made for the public mood and for the skepticism, which is growing in face of the difficulties we are undergoing, about the operation of many existing democratic institutions.

In reply, Ryszard Zielinski of Krakow declared that our difficulties should not discourage us from perfecting forms of democracy. For this precisely affords an opportunity for alleviating the public mood. The referendums could be, e.g., a genuine instrument for spurring the civic activism of broad masses of the citizenry.

The opinions on the coverage of public consultations by the decree varied. It is unnecessary, according to Marian Popielewski, a foreman from the ELANA Plant (others seconded him), because such consultations have long been practiced, and so there is no need to break open doors that already are open. To be sure, such consultations are numerous, but their quality is not always satisfactory, because there are no rules for them. That is why, to emphasize the importance of the consultations, their legal regulation is needed (Gwidon Rysiak). Similar arguments were advanced by Jerzy Jaskiernia.

Barbara Koziej-Zukowa of the Supreme Council of the PKPS [Polish Social Assistance Committee] declared that the decree should specify the what, when, and how of the consultations. Andrzej Kalwas of the National Council of Legal Advisers said he thought that the draft decree contains more broad declarations than specific safeguards concerning the proper functioning of these consultations.

Concerning the introduction of the institution of referendums, the consensus was that they should be constituent referendums. The assessment adopted by the Council proposes that the expression "the results of the referendum are taken into consideration" be supplanted with "the results of the referendum are binding." The Council also agreed that referendums should be conducted on issues of fundamental importance to the nation, and that it would be desirable

for the decree to specify instances in which such national referendums can be conducted. This comment was preceded by discussion of whether it is or is not possible to formulate issues on which referendums are mandatory. In the Council's view, conducting a referendum requires amending the Constitution correspondingly.

The recommendations adopted at Thursday's session of the Council (with six abstaining votes) also contains some 15 detailed comments on the draft decree, mostly intended to make the language of its provisions more specific so that the decree would not be, as one discussant declared, a mere expression of goodwill but lay a solid foundation for building a new democratic institution.

The session was attended by the Chairman of the PZPR Caucus of Sejm Deputies, Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski.

#### Repeated Alterations, Discussions Noted

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Ryszarda Kazimierska: "Legal Safeguards or a Declaration?" surtitled "Consultations and Referendums"]

[Text] It is hard to agree with Roman Kruszewski who claims in PRAWDA I ZYCIE that "A sad fate awaits the Decree on Public Consultations and Referendums if the results of future public discussion will be treated in the same way as the conclusions ensuing from the exchange of views on precisely this bill."

I have been keeping track of the preparation of successive versions of the draft decree (the Sejm draft submitted for first reading to the March session of the Sejm is probably already the 12th version), and I must state that each successive version of that draft decree is increasingly remote from the starting assumptions formulated in 1983 by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON).

I remember how in January 1983, after perusing the draft decree on "consulting the opinion of citizens," transmitted by the Sejm Chancellery, the PRON found that "in many respects it is consonant with and even complements the PRON's proposal, but in many other important respects it differs from it and has to be thoroughly critiqued." The PRON's opinion was transmitted to the Sejm, and a group of 115 Deputies asked the Speaker to include in the agenda a changed title of the draft decree, that is, the PRON's original title, "a decree on public consultations and referendums." But as for the text of many of the proposed solutions, it diverges from the PRON's proposals, and also from proposals made by academicians-law experts and by the ordinary citizens who took a position on the matter. Similarly, the background introduction to the Deputies' draft decree makes no mention of the postulates contained in the PRON's opinion; they simply are tacitly ignored.

Deputy Jerzy Jaskiernia, who submitted that draft decree to the Chamber of Deputies, declared that it had been consulted upon with bodies of the Council of State, the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, the Executive Committee of the PRON's National Council, Deputies' caucuses and clubs, and eminent

representatives of the science of constitutional law. He also declared that, "In the course of the related work the proposals contained in the public draft of the decree presented in 1984 by the Presidium of the PRON's National Council at the joint Presidium-Sejm session were thoroughly analyzed." However, the term "thoroughly analyzed" does not mean "taken into consideration."

#### First Reading

Already during the first reading reservations were voiced concerning particular solutions contained in the Deputies' draft. Thus for example Deputy Zdzislaw Balicki declared, "The criticism that the proposed text is too vague and contains few normative, that is, legal provisions concerning the referendum itself, deserves to be considered. This applies especially to the procedural principles for public discussion. We should aim at more detailed solutions protecting us against mistakes and subjectivism in the practice of 'public consultations.' A professor of constitutional law, a high-ranking and activist nonparty member of a people's council, wrote me a letter in which he formulated six such principles regulating in fairly great detail the procedure for public consultations. For example, particular and fairly ordered tasks in this respect should be prescribed for the mass media. Similarly the concept of the binding nature of the results of the referendum is not sufficiently precise. Does the positive result of a referendum mean in a given case that a decree is to be passed, a decision taken, or the concerned state agency is dutybound to accept it? Similarly, the consequences of a situation in which a majority of the eligible voters in a referendum vote against a proposed solution are not fully clear."

In his turn, Deputy Stanislaw Majewski declared that, in accordance with the provisions of the draft decree, "Issues of crucial importance to national development, the development of a particular region, or the interests and living conditions of citizens, may be subjected to public consultation. Here the subject matter of the consultations is defined very broadly and vaguely, and the subsequent provisions of the draft decree fail to develop the guiding idea of Article 1 and merely refer to consultations on draft bills. This raises the question of whether other important decisions, e.g., those relating to economic or international policies, which need not ensue from legislative acts, can or cannot be the subject of public consultations. This is an important issue and one of lively interest to the society. As known, price increases or wage rates, e.g., are not subject to public consultation since its results would never be satisfactory to both sides, but the principles and criteria of price, wage, or social-service policies can be subjected to public consultation. This problem has to be resolved."

Deputy Kazimierz Orzechowski drew attention to other questions. "Both public consultations and, especially, the referendum are a reflection and a distinctive crowning of the political rights of citizens and this alone is how they should be interpreted and situated in the draft decree. Yet a reading of that draft raises considerable doubts on this score. For many of its provisions stress, and at times ostentatiously at that, the decisive role of the authorities and agencies of state administration in this respect. This almost produces the impression as if the decision to subject a given issue to



public consultation or referendum is merely a gesture of the authorities toward the society rather than the exercise by the socialist society of a fundamental political rights guaranteed to it by the Constitution. The impression I refer to ensues not from the nature of the envisaged provisions but from certain rather extensive lacunae and awkwardness of language which will have to be remedied."

Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz compared the language of two articles, 13 and 18, concerning the referendum. The former states, "In a referendum the citizens express by voting their will as to resolving the issue on which the referendum is taken," while the latter states, "the results of the referendum are taken into consideration when resolving the issue voted upon if more than one-half of all the persons eligible to participate in the referendum declare themselves to be for or against that issue."

Regardless of the intent of the authors of the draft decree, Prof Kozakiewicz stated, the locution "taken into consideration" causes the results of the referendum to become ambiguous and non-binding on the authorities which conduct it. "By the same token, the referendum essentially becomes an unusually ponderous and costly form of public consultation." Whereupon Prof Kozakiewicz dotted the i, "The referendum as a rarely practiced occasion for the direct expression of the society's will completely forfeits its sense in Polish conditions if its results are not of an absolutely binding nature."

Prof Kozakiewicz also questioned "the unusual emphasis on the validity of the results of the referendum. Please bear in mind that, more than 50 percent of eligible voters, rather than as the normal practice has it, more than 50 percent of actual voters, have to cast their votes if these results are to be valid. What is the reason for this unusual provision? Simple arithmetic shows that if only 65 percent of all eligible voters actually cast their votes in the referendum then as many as 80 percent would have to support or reject the issue on the referendum is conducted."

#### What the Sejm Advisers Say

Above I quoted only some of the comments made already during the first reading. Subsequently, the Team of Sejm Advisers considered the draft decree on public consultations and referendums and treated it quite ruthlessly. First, the advisers found that each successive draft of the decree was couched in still more generalized language and contained either more or less strongly worded resistance against any "detailed regulation of the procedure for public consultations or against the introduction of the referendum as a systemic institution of the PRL." Further, they added that, "The currently proposed draft decree in principle introduces nothing new to the evolved customs and rules for the conduct of public consultations. On the one hand, it does not broaden the legal safeguards for the correct course of public consultations, and on the other it lacks any provisions intended to prevent such negative occurrences as the concurrent conduct of several equally important public consultations, and it also lacks properly prepared and justified proposals on decisions to be subjected to the consultations. That is, the draft decree lacks practically any provisions concerning the binding power of the consultations or restricting in any way the possibilities for the abuse,

distortion, or devaluation of the procedure of public consultations and discussions."

As regards the provisions of the draft decree relating to the referendums, the Sejm Advisers declared that they were "too generalized and blanket provisions."

The Team of Sejm Advisers also pointed out that the draft decree is "characterized by considerable imprecision and even linguistic errors. The draft is couched in political rather than legal language. If the decree is passed in its current version, its practical application will cause many problems."

The Socio-Economic Council was more restrained. It did not disqualify the draft decree, but it prepared a list of 15 or so comments. Among others, it supported a constituent referendum (rather than a postulating referendum) as "consonant with social expectations." It also supported the need for a referendum amendment to the Constitution (the advisers proposed "an integral consideration of the problem of permanently introducing the referendum as part of our systemic-constitutional order of society during the future comprehensive revision of the PRL Constitution or while drafting a new Constitution." They also suggested that the decree incorporate a definition of the public consultation that would include both its purpose and the obligations of the state to consider and take under advisement the opinions and recommendations expressed.

What Next?

The Extraordinary Commission appointed by the Sejm in mid-March is still working on the Deputies' draft decree. It is studying the opinions of the advisers and perusing the text attentively.

Drafting the decree on public consultations and referendums is not easy. Its subject matter belongs in the political rather than legal domain. Nonetheless, the decree should provide legal safeguards rather than mainly declarations of goodwill. It should provide safeguards for the conduct of consultations, for their adherence to certain fixed rules, and for a conscientious utilization of the conclusions ensuing from them.

The decree on public consultations and referendums is a bill of systemic importance. It is a bill which should provide safeguards for democratic and efficient governance. Hence also special importance should be attached to the ultimate text of that decree.

#### Sejm Notes National Defense Issues

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Apr 87 p 8

[Article by (wkr): "On Public Consultations and Referendums" surtitled "On the Activities of Sejm Commissions"]

[Text] (Own information) (C) On 9 Apr was held the third session of the Extraordinary Commission for Examining the Deputies' Draft Decree on Social Consultations and Referendums. The session was chaired by Deputy Roman Pillardy (PZPR).

The nature and provisions of that decree are intended to reflect direct democracy upon preserving the Constitutional role and systemic-legal position of representative bodies and bodies of state administration. Hence, the expression of opinions by citizens in public consultations or the expression of the will of citizens through the referendums is not intended to replace or act in lieu of these bodies when it comes to deciding on matters placed within their competences in the fundamental decree [the PRL Constitution]. The draft decree does not impinge upon specific provisions governing the procurement of the opinions of citizens and public organizations, and it is intended to comprehensively settle aspects of the conduct of public consultations and referendums by defining the forms, principles, and procedure of the related response of both the organs of the authorities and the organs of the state administration.

The deputies devoted much attention to the part of that decree which excludes from public consultations and referendums issues dealing with national defense and the armed forces of the PRL and also state security, as well as matters considered state secrets. Commenting on the proposal that the decree should specify that local referendums may not take a position on these issues, Deputy Sylwester Zawadzki (PZPR) questioned the very pertinence of incorporating such a provision in the draft decree, in view of the evident axiom that local communities cannot decide on national issues.

Despite the agreement on basic questions, the discussion revealed some differences in opinion about the language of certain provisions of the draft decree. For example, the provision specifying that "Citizens eligible for active participation in elections to people's councils have the right to vote in the referendums," was actively debated, with many revisions suggested. The view that this provision will not forfeit its clarity if the expression "to people's councils" is deleted was criticized by Deputy Jerzy Jaskiernia (PZPR). He declared that in that context "the right to vote," if deprived of the qualification "in what," will become an abstract concept, the more so considering that the rules governing elections to people's councils differ from those governing elections to the Sejm.

In addition, the following Deputies took the floor: Antoni Jasinski (PZPR), Wincenty Lewandowski (nonparty, PAX), Ryszard Lukasiewicz (PZPR), Teresa Malczewska (ZSL [United Peasant Party]), Michal Markowicz (ZSL), Jozefa Matynkowska (PZPR), Eugeniusz Ochendowski (nonparty), Marianna Skrzypek (PZPR), Stanislaw Stasiak (ZSL), Piotr Stefanski (SD [Democratic Party]), Elzbieta Struwe (PZPR), Edward Szymanski (PZPR), Pawel Szymanski (PZPR), and Ryszard Tomczewski (SD). Also participating in the session were: Vice Chairman of the Law and Legality Commission of the PRON's National Council Andrzej Elbanowski, representative of the Socio-Economic Council Krzysztof Czeszejko-Sochacki, Undersecretary of State at the Office of the Council of Ministers Kazimierz Malecki, Commission expert Professor Jerzy Jodlowski, Deputy Department Director at the Ministry of Internal Affairs Janina Ostrowska, and

Vice Chairman of the Main Board of the Polish Bar Association Jerzy Swiatkiewicz.

### Middle-Ground Solution Sought

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Zygmunt Niewiadomski: "How to Consult?" surtitled "Concerning the Draft Decree"]

[Text] Until quite recently the focus of administrative activities was on a proper relationship between the government office and the citizen. The problem of contacts between the government office and the society was less well perceived. This problem has become particularly acute in recent years. It turned out that the development trend of the administration so far has been inadequate.

For it is possible to provide far-reaching formal safeguards of civil rights and at the same time to deprive entire segments of the society of certain rights. A single misconceived economic plan can suffice to deprive many of us of our elementary rights (to pure air, recreation, possibilities for land development, etc.). Awareness of this possibility now underlies the approach to the relations between the government office and the society as being of an importance equal to that of the relations between the government office and the citizen.

It is worth noting that the genesis of the exploration of an optimal model of contacts between the administration and the society as a whole (as well as with discrete social groups) is much deeper in the conditions of the socialist state. Underlying it is the systemic idea of including the society in the process of governance. For the effectiveness of administration in a socialist state cannot be measured solely by the criterion an efficient handling of individual and collective affairs of citizens. It should also be measured by the criterion of democratism and social acceptance. Hence also the importance of the problem of public consultations. By now a situation in which important social decisions are made without consulting the society is inconceivable.

In such a situation the pertinent legal regulations become important. The need to define more precisely the Constitutional provisions on public consultations appears quite obvious. Such more precise definition can proceed in two different directions: regulation of the duty of public consultation by means of particular legislation governing specific domains of the life of the society, or the regulation of that duty by means of a single legislative bill -- the decree on public consultations.

The passage of such a bill comprehensively regulating the obligations and rights concerning decisions important to the society would meet the social expectations for the most integral possible settlement of legally defined social issues. It was this argument that has surely prompted a group of Deputies to submit, on the initiative of the PRON, to the Sejm the draft decree on public consultations and referendums. It is to be expected that this draft decree will elicit considerable social interest.

The principal element in determining the legal nature of the consultations is the question of the extent to which their results will be considered in decisionmaking. Here, two mutually opposed solutions are possible. The first solution is the complete one, or at least one that makes the results of the public consultation binding to a far-reaching extent on the body conducting it. This solution would be by the same token a reflection of the results of the consultation. Although it would be viewed by the society as the more democratic solution, it would transfer the decisionmaking right from the bodies obligated to make decisions to the subjects of the consultation and, what is more important, it would relieve these bodies of responsibility for the decisions taken and burden, as it were, with that responsibility the persons participating in the consultation. As a result, in practice we would be dealing not so much with a public consultation as with a referendum. But a public consultation is not and cannot be a referendum.

The other extreme solution is that the results of the consultations would not be binding. Such a solution would, in its turn, make of public consultation a mere formality. For it would suffice for the body obligated to conduct the consultation to conduct it by the required procedure, whereupon that body would still take its own decisions without considering the results of the consultation.

Hence also, as it seems, intermediate solutions have to be explored. Various approaches are possible in this respect. It could be assumed, e.g., that unequivocally negative results of a public consultation on any important issue impose on the body obligated to conduct the consultation the duty of presenting a new version of the decision to be made, a version that allows for the results of the consultation. But this solution too has a fatal flaw, because it is not conducive to the effectiveness of the decisions taken. To be sure, the postulate of a rapid and efficient conduct of a public consultation refers to its technical aspects, but in practice this may be of great importance. For the point is to prevent attempts at protracting the consultation procedure. A public consultation should not delay the proposed decision, the more so considering that tardiness in adopting certain decisions deprives them of their rationale. The proposed solution demonstrates the difficulty of the problems facing the legislator.

The principal prerequisite for the participation of citizens and their associations in a public consultation is the provision of objective information on the decisions to be taken. The absence or subjectivity of such information may distort the results of the consultation and consequently also nullify its purpose. The obligation of administrative agencies to provide broad information that also pertains to the implementation of the whole of the state's tasks is even more essential. The point is not only that administrative organs should consult the public about projects which they consider necessary, but also that, e.g., public organizations or individual citizens should be enabled to propose such consultations. Such a practice could spur the commitment of administrative organs to resolving social issues.

And here we face yet another major problem: the scope of the consultation. Issues subject to the consultation should be defined. For it would be difficult to accept the view that all proposed decisions should be subject to

public consultation, and that such consultation is mandatory in every case. There exist matters which by their very nature have to be excluded from public consultation, e.g., state secrets or aspects of national defense and security. Hence also it appears expedient to divide proposed decisions into those that must be consulted upon with the public and those which may be consulted. It seems that public consultation on decisions relating to crucial public issues, such as the main directions of socio-economic development, the rights and duties of the citizenry, etc., should be mandatory, while consultation on less significant issues should be optional. For there is no sense in conducting a public consultation when both the decisionmaking organs and the public are in agreement that it is unnecessary.

If consultations on proposed decisions are to be essentially public, then the whole of the citizenry should be consulted; if, however, the decisions concern discrete social groups, only those groups can be consulted. However, the consultation should still be so organized as to afford any citizen a chance to make his opinion known.

Of course, such a consultation model, while the most democratic, is not always applicable. For it takes time and fairly substantial financial outlays. Hence, consulting various kinds of public and self-government organizations about proposed decisions should be allowed, the more so considering that many of the decisions concern only the particular social groups represented by these organizations.

The provisions of the decree should thoroughly specify the consultation procedure, beginning with the provision of information on intended decisions, running through the period of opinion-gathering and processing of results, and ending with the stage of decisionmaking. The results should be announced by the same procedure as the consultation itself. The point is that every participant in the consultation should be enabled to learn about its results and compare a particular decision with the public opinion thereon. This would er the activities of state organs.

#### Sejm Completes Bill Discussion

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Apr 87 p 2

[Article by (J. Mik.): "The Constituent Referendum" surtitled "Activities of the Extraordinary Commission"]

[Text] The most important issue resolved at the 22 April session of the Extraordinary Commission finalizing its work on the draft decree on public consultations and referendums was the revision of Article 18, which was worded as follows: "The results of the referendum will be taken into consideration when deciding upon the issue submitted for vote if a particular solution is supported by more than one-half of those eligible to participate in the referendum."

Deputy Edward Szymanski (PZPR) proposed revising that Article as follows: "The results of the referendum will be decisive to the issue submitted for vote if..." with the remainder of the passage being the same as above. Precisely

that "if" was the subject of a prolonged exchange of opinions within the Commission.

Deputy Jerzy Jaskiernia (PZPR) declared that by requiring not a majority of voters but a majority of all eligible voters to support a referendum proposal, a formidable obstacle has been erected. Deputy Stanislaw Stasiak (ZSL) said, "Absent voters are in the wrong," and passive people, of whom there are many, should not be able to prejudice the results of the referendum. Deputy Zbigniew Pruszkowski (PZPR) calculated that even a 90-percent voter attendance could thus result in a tie.

Defending the solution proposed in the draft decree, Deputy E. Szymanski criticized proposals that would enable a small minority of voters to prejudice the results of a referendum on issues of importance to the entire society, and Deputy Sylwester Zawadzki (PZPR) said he thought that posing such high requirements as to the results of the referendum could be a factor promoting high voter attendance. Ultimately, the Deputies accepted the proposal by Deputy E. Szymanski as a whole: "The results of the referendum are decisive if one of the solutions... is supported by more than one-half of those eligible to participate in the referendum."

Yesterday's discussion lasted 11 hours. It has also resulted in major revisions of the format of the decree as well as in numerous corrections and rewriting of certain articles. The Commission also worked on a draft amendment to the PRL Constitution with the object of, as we noted previously, incorporating in it the institution of the referendum.

Deputy Roman Pillardy (PZPR) will report on these changes to the Sejm. One more session of the Commission is expected.

#### Economic Weekly Commentary

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish No 13, 29 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Irena Dryll: "The Referendum is Not an Empty Gesture"]

[Text] To be sure, the first reading of the draft decree in the Sejm can hardly be termed a "consultation," but this time the Sejm debate happened to be precisely in the nature of one. I refer here to the Deputies' draft decree on public consultations and referendums which was submitted on 2 March to the Chamber, bearing the signatures of 115 Deputies or nearly one-fourth of its membership, and which was presented in their behalf on 19 March at the plenary session of the Sejm by Deputy Jerzy Jaskiernia. In the discussion, 13 Deputies, including five signers of the draft, took the floor.

While the general idea was accepted, some of the specific solutions were criticized. Reservations and comments were offered even by Deputies who had signed their names on the draft.

## The Decree -- What For?

It is worth noting that the proposal for imposing a legislative framework on public consultation already has a history of its own. The initiative for this came from the First PRON Congress as far back as in 1983. The program planks of that congress also pointed to the need to establish the referendum as an institution in Poland. In May 1983 was published "Assumptions of the Decree on Public Consultations," and 2 years later the PRON-authored draft of that decree had been submitted to the Sejm. The response of various groups varied, being critical in some. Counter-proposals were conceived within the Sejm; e.g., some Deputies prepared a draft decree for procuring the opinions of citizens. The PRON publicly criticized that draft, viewing it as a regression in relation to the Movement's previous proposals.

During their successive "approaches" to the problem of public consultations, the deputies added the question of the referendums. This changed the title and nature of the draft decree but did not abate the controversy. It is thus good that the first reading of the draft decree on public consultations and referendums brought that controversy into the light of the day.

As Deputy Zdzislaw Balicki put it, "The text of the draft raises many questions and debatable and insufficiently clear issues. The Sejm together with the Socio-Economic Council and experts will still have to work hard on the proposed decree before it reaches its proper shape."

A few words about the draft decree itself which was, as loyally stressed in its rationale, prepared on the initiative of the First PRON Congress. The Preamble states that the new decree is intended "to translate socialist democracy more fully into reality and to broaden forms of the direct participation of citizens in governance."

Discussing the draft decree, Deputy Jerzy Jaskiernia stated, "The principal premises should also include the Constitutional right of citizens to participate in consultations and discussions, and also the duty of organs of the authorities and the state administration to base their activities on the conscious and active participation of the broadest masses of citizens.

Hence also, the proposed decree contains a provision stating that the topics of public consultations and referendums may be issues of crucial importance to the development of the country as a whole or a particular region or to the interests and living conditions of citizens.

The Executive Committee of the PRON's National Council and the appropriate supreme statutory bodies of other national organizations would be authorized to propose the conduct of nationwide public consultations. As for local consultations, the right to propose them would belong to the presidiums of local PRON councils, and also to the appropriate statutory bodies of political, public, professional, cultural, and self-government organizations of a corresponding local nature, as defined in the draft decree. The submission of specific issues or documents for nationwide consultation would be decided upon by the Sejm, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, or the Prime



Minister, while submission for local consultations would be decided upon by the concerned people's council or local agency of state administration.

The right to propose submitting an issue for a nationwide referendum would belong to the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, and the National Council of the PRON, while the right to propose submitting an issue for a local referendum would belong to the concerned presidium of people's council, the competent local organ of state administration, and the local PRON council.

The decision to conduct a nationwide referendum would be made only by the Sejm, and a local referendum by the concerned people's council. Such a decision has to be taken by a majority of at least two-thirds and in the presence of at least one-half of the total number of deputies or councilmen. Thus, here a special quorum, the same as that required for amending the PRL Constitution, is proposed.

The draft decree postulates that particular problems may be submitted for public consultation or referendum, and thus the adopted model is optional rather than obligatory, which does not contribute to a more precise definition of the scope of these issues.

The results of the public consultation are to be utilized as follows: the agency subjecting a particular issue to the consultation is obligated to consider and publicly announce the opinions and recommendations presented and the scope of their utilization. If the consultation pertains to a proposed decree or resolution, the proposal should be submitted to the Sejm or to the pertinent people's council together with the opinions and recommendations ensuing from the consultation. (Incidentally, from the legal point of view all this means little.)

As for the results of the referendum (according to the draft Article 18), they are to be taken into consideration when deciding upon the issue under the referendum if more than one-half of those eligible to participate in the referendum support a proposed solution of an issue.

So much about the draft decree, generally speaking. According to comments by Deputies during the first reading of the draft decree in the Sejm, it can be viewed as a good starting point for further discussion of public consultations and referendums. For so many aspects of this matter have turned out to be unclear and debatable, beginning with the question whether a decree on public consultations is needed at all.

Public consultations have become a permanent element of the practice of governance. The duty of their conduct is spelled out in many decrees and, irrespective of their shortcomings and occasional missteps, these consultations have passed the test of life. Deputy Z. Balicki declared that a decree focusing on the legal framework of these consultations would endow them with permanence, enhance their significance, and serve to avoid arbitrariness.

Deputy Eugeniusz Ochendowski argued that the idea of the public consultation is reflected, in a fragmentary manner so far, in the Constitution. Being included among the fundamental civil rights, it has become not just a

political but a legal institution and it is necessary to define it in greater detail in a separate legislative bill.

A totally different view was expressed by Deputy Malgorzata Niepokulczycka: as practice shows, the rulings of the PRL Constitution provide a sufficient legal foundation for the participation of citizens in the consultations. Separate legislation governing the consultations could rigidize and formalize this form of the exploration of public opinion, according to the Deputy. In her opinion, the adoption of a Sejm resolution on the issue should suffice. Only the referendums have to be legislated.

To be sure, Deputy Niepokulczycka appeared to be the only advocate of such views in the Sejm debate, but they are far from isolated. There exist many opponents of "legislated consultations" who claim, not without reason, that no decree is needed for conducting public consultations, since sufficient legal foundations already exist. Our legal system, as pointed out by Deputy Stanislaw Nowel, already includes seven decrees prescribing the obligation of consulting the public about legislative bills and administrative acts. Then there are the mandatory Constitution and its Article 86, which states: "PRL citizens... participate in consultations and discussions of principal problems of the country's development and present proposals." Thus, any institution wishing to take important decisions of a broad scope can and should consult not only experts but also persons and groups interested in that decision, especially when the issue is controversial. Many institutions are doing precisely this, and the nature of the issues presented for public consultation in recent years has been very diversified, encompassing the question of the trade unions and the trade-union decree, the pension and annuity decree, the wage reform and price increases, the 1983-1985 National Socio-Economic Plan and the current 1986-1990 5-year plan, the organization and financing of social security, the assumptions of successive central annual plans, and other issues.

Following the proverb that gentlemen do not discuss facts, the supporters of the decree on public consultations do not deny all this. However, as they also claim, not without reason, the methods and procedures of public consultations employed so far have not been the best, and the extent to which the thus obtained proposals of working people are considered elicits major reservations. In this respect, the decree could change a lot -- of course to the better. For a clear definition of public consultation, of its scope, and of how to conduct it so that it would not be "art for art's sake," practiced to improve the society's wellbeing, is still lacking. There are honest consultations, but there also are some serving as an alibi or a smokescreen for unpopular decisions by the authorities, seeming and sham consultations whose results are discounted in advance, and consultations doomed in advance to failure because issues are posed too vaguely.

Such missteps are especially numerous so far as public consultations concerning difficult and complex socio-economic problems are concerned.

In the opinion of the deputies, the methods and procedure for the consultations should be defined more precisely in the draft decree. To be sure, as Deputy Jerzy Golinski has commented, it would not be realistic to

include in the decree some catalog of issues and problems whose submission to the society's judgment would be mandatory, but it is possible to attempt to define the criteria for issues that are so essential to the nation and the state that they have to be presented for public consultation. The deputy moreover declared, "The public consultation as an institution can be credible only if the agency conducting it will unambiguously explain to the society which proposals [resulting from the public consultations] were utilized when taking the decision and which rejected and why."

#### A Political Dessert

It is known in advance, however, that a more precise definition of the public consultation will not be easy. Hence the contributions of the discussion so far should be utilized -- and they are substantial. Consider, e.g., the proposals of the Advisory Economic Council, which had a couple of years ago (on 21 November 1983 [as published]) discussed the draft of the public consultation decree then being prepared under the auspices of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]. Professor Aleksander Lukaszewicz presented a concept of consultations on socio-economic issues, while Professor Mieczyslaw Nasilowski offered by way of a counterproposal other interesting solutions. This is not the place to discuss them again (I have already written about them in my article, "The Genie Released from the Bottle" (ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, No 51/52, 1983), so let me merely quote a still topical question asked by Prof Nasilowski: "To what extent will the valid idea of public consultations result in a more genuine social participation in the multi-rung decisionmaking procedure of the socialist economy, and to what extent is it merely a bauble shamming social participation in the decisionmaking process?"

The note of apprehension contained in that question has permanently stuck to discussions on the subject. During the first reading of the draft decree, Deputy Z. Balicki warned against making the proposed decree a "legal facade" for propaganda, something in the nature of an annex or a political dessert.

The critical comments and apprehensions of the deputies were even much greater when it came to the issue of the referendums. The question in particular was: should the results of the referendum be binding, and if so, in what cases, and also on whom (on the Sejm too)? And what is the relationship between the referendums and the PRL Constitution?

The referendum as an institution of popular vote on one or another particular issue originated in Switzerland in the 16th century. During the postwar period it was resorted to in Poland only once, in 1946, when voters were asked about such crucial systemic questions as a unicameral parliament, the perpetuation of the principles of the system of society in the Constitution, and the state frontier on the Odra and the Nysa.

Deputy Mikolaj Kozakiewicz argued, "The importance of this institution at present is more symbolic than practical. In the countries availing itself of it, the referendum is rarely organized, in sporadic instances, because it is a manifestation of direct democracy for which, as the principal method of governance, there is no longer room anywhere in the world except in little Switzerland, the cradle of this institution. The experience of the countries

which have long been applying this form of plumbing public opinion shows that the influence of the referendum on the affairs of state is limited. In certain situations it is, in many countries, a tool that is chiefly amenable and useful to the government."

When citizens are asked to decide upon issues that involve, as the deputy put it, mutually entangled conflicting interests or differences in moral views, the government thus uses the referendum to clear itself of the odium of decisions that would elicit objections and resistance of various segments of the society if decreed by administrative fiat. By having such issues decided with the aid of a referendum the government creates for itself a situation in which no one can blame it.

#### Encouraging Morale

In the deputy's opinion, in practice a system of continuous, diverse, and seriously approached consultations can be of greater influence on governance than referendums. He declared that he personally does not overrate this institution but, as he stressed at the outset, its symbolic significance has prompted him to voice (in his own name alone, as he also emphasized) major reservations about the part of the decree concerning the referendums.

"We need such a symbol nowadays also because the society's faith in the pro-renewal determination and enthusiasm of our state is declining, because a mood of discouragement and disbelief in the effectiveness and continuation of the reforms is arising. Old but resurrected and updated refrains about 'the return of the new' are again being heard. This mood is dangerous to our future.... The referendum may symbolize the pro-renewal determination of the state, and at present this symbolic significance of its introduction appears to be more important than its actual efficacy."

Nevertheless, Deputy Kozakiewicz has been strenuously promoting that "efficacy" in his comments, evidently on the assumption that even institutions of symbolic significance should be endowed with powers appropriate to their role.

Although viewing the referendum chiefly as a symbol serving to "encourage morale" is not quite acceptable, the Deputy's rationale seems reasonable when his reservations concern specific solutions. This refers in particular to Article 18 of the draft decree which, let me recall, provides that the results of the referendum "will be taken into consideration when deciding on the issue presented for voting."

The expression "will be taken into consideration," rather than "may be taken into consideration" clearly indicates, according to Deputy J. Jaskiernia, that this concerns a constituent referendum. However, Deputy M. Kozakiewicz, followed by others, has voiced doubts about it.

"The expression 'taken into consideration,' whatever the intent of the authors of the draft decree, deprives the results of the referendum of their obligatory nature binding upon the authorities conducting the referendum. By the same token, the referendum is essentially merely an unusually ponderous

and costly form of public consultation. This raises the question of its pertinence and why is it isolated under a separate chapter heading in the draft decree."

The deputy furthermore commented, "In my opinion the referendum, as a rarely employed occasion for the direct expression of the society's will, becomes completely pointless in Polish conditions if its results are not to be absolutely binding."

In the countries in which this institution is practiced, the subject of the referendum is, as a rule, issues on which public opinion is starkly divided: the death penalty, equal rights for women, abortion, divorce, the construction or shutdown of dangerous or obstructive industrial plants in some region, and the distribution of the tax burden.

The deputy argued, "In an overwhelming majority of these countries the referendum is binding on the authorities. It must be all the more so in Poland, where a broad system of public consultations that are not binding on the authorities has already been created."

The provision in Article 18 specifying that the results of the referendum will be taken into consideration when deciding on an issue was viewed by deputy Kazimierz Orzechowski as an improper solution which appears to refute the meaning of direct democracy by placing the will of representative bodies above it.

"The positive effect of the referendum is simply the decision of the entire nation and as such it cannot be merely taken into consideration by an elected body, but, on the contrary, should be literally implemented by that body by means of an appropriate legislative act."

The question of the binding nature of the results of the referendum was considered by Deputy Jacek Piechota to be crucial to the credibility of the entire decree. A constituent referendum rather than one whose results are merely "taken into consideration" was also definitely supported by the deputies Stanislaw Nowel, M. Niepokulczycka, and others. In the opinion of that group of Deputies, if, as the draft decree provides, the Sejm is to decide on conducting a referendum, then, should a majority of citizens vote in favor of a given issue, the Sejm should be under the obligation of taking appropriate particular decisions in the form of a decree, a resolution, or a declaration. Such a kind of relinquishment by the Parliament of its function of being the supreme legislative body in favor of the citizenry -- the participants in the referendum -- as a whole was, is, and surely shall continue to be a subject of controversy. Before the draft decree is finally voted on, it will be necessary to resolve the following dilemma: is the Sejm, as some say, "an emanation of the society authorized to exercise governance," or is it, as others say, "a constitutionally empowered body that always exercises governance, regardless of the effects of the referendum"?

Still other reservations are elicited by the unusually severe requirements for the validity of the results of referendums. They can be valid only if more than 50 percent of the eligible voters vote, rather than, as is customary, if

more than 50 percent of actual voters support or reject some issue. Thus, for example, if the attendance of eligible voters in a referendum is 65 percent, this being a high attendance for a referendum, at least 80 percent of them would have to vote in favor of the referendum issue if this requirement is to be met.

Deputy M. Kozakiewicz said, "This means that an overwhelming unanimity of voters on a given issue would be needed, yet issues on which there exists common consensus hardly require a referendum." And he added, "In view of this I propose that the validity of referendums be made contingent on the number of actual voters rather than on that of eligible voters."

Another debatable question, which properly should be the principal one, is the relationship between the referendum and the Constitution. On this matter opinion is divided, since we are dealing with a delicate issue which eludes any exact legal definition. Discussing the draft decree, Deputy J. Jaskiernia observed that the question of the referendum raises the question of the need to amend the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Constitution.

He said, "The opinions of experts on this matter are divided. It is thus important to consider this problem in the course of further legislative work."

Deputy K. Orzechowski acknowledged that the proposed regulations exceed, and considerably at that, the existing and mandatory Constitutional provisions, although undoubtedly they pursue the direction outlined by these provisions.

He said, "The referendum is an institution of such fundamental importance, of such tremendous political and systemic value, above all as a concrete manifestation of direct socialist democracy, that the PRL Constitution simply cannot gloss it over."

A similar observation was made by Deputy E. Ochendowski: "The referendum is too important an institution from the systemic point of view to remain outside the Constitution."

An opposite position was represented by Deputy Stanislaw Nowel.

"If we decide that introducing the referendum means greater democracy and greater socialism and that there are no reasons for claiming to the contrary, we must acknowledge that the present text of the Constitution admits the conduct of referendums as a way of broadening the participation of citizens in governance. We cannot treat the Constitution dogmatically, and hence I believe that the Sejm can vote the decree on public consultations and referendums without having to amend the Constitution correspondingly."

Deputy Kozakiewicz also had his own, different opinion on this matter. Namely, he argued that politically unequivocal measures are needed: either the referendums are introduced and the Constitution is amended accordingly (as for whether such amendment is really needed, that should be decided by lawyers), or the entire question of referendums should be postponed until the new Constitution is voted. He said, "The Sejm cannot afford equivocal, half-way solutions."

Not only regarding this question, it seems. This comment can be applied to the entire draft decree.

As Deputy K. Orzechowski astutely put it, "Public consultations, and especially referendums, are a reflection and a distinctive crowning of the political rights of citizens, and this alone is how they should be interpreted and provided for in the draft decree. Reading that draft, however, elicits considerable doubts as to whether this desideratum is met. Many of its provisions stress, and at times ostentatiously at that, the decisive role of organs of the authorities and the administration in this respect. This almost produces the impression that decisions to present some or other issue for public consultation or for a referendum are merely empty gestures of the authorities toward the society rather than the exercise by the socialist society of the fundamental political right safeguarded to it by the Constitution."

The speaker made the caveat, forcefully at that, that the idea of an empty gesture by the authorities was far from the purview of the authors of the draft decree, and that the impression he referred to is produced not by the nature of the provisions specified but by certain rather extensive instances of editorial lacunae and awkward language which should be eliminated.

The draft decree displays many such lacunae, and others as well, and, as was stressed during the discussion, its flaws also include vagueness and declarativeness, which experts term derisively "legal mirages."

#### A Tough Nut to Crack by the Commission

The Extraordinary Commission established by the Sejm to examine the deputies' draft decree will thus have its hands full (it consists of 31 deputies and is chaired by Deputy Roman Pillardy). At its first meeting toward the end of March it will consider the aforementioned basic problem of the relationship between the solutions adopted in the draft decree and the Constitution.

Refining or even "sculpting" that draft decree appears to be an important matter. It is no accident that on the second day of the Sejm's deliberations it was precisely that draft decree which attracted the attention of the Chamber and the attending spectators. This is because both the major apprehensions as to the final shape of this legislative act and the expectations ensuing from the experience with tortuous turns of the road in the past are linked to this draft decree.

Deputy Stanislaw Majewski said, "The events of 1980 emphasized the need for creating such systemic mechanisms, mechanisms that would offer lasting safeguards against distortions of socialism, abuse of power, and mistakes in the strategy of economic development."

Another of the 13 discussants, Deputy Jozef Suchecki, referring to his talks with voters -- employees of the GRYFIA Szczecin Repair Shipyard -- offered the reminder that the history of People's Poland demonstrates that impotent functioning of socialist democracy, including the absence of mechanisms for a

broad participation of the society in governance, is bound to generate social conflicts.

The deputy recalled the once fashionable slogan, "More discussion before taking decisions, and more consistency in implementing them," and added that it has not been translated into reality in practical political measures.

The point is that the topic of the current discussion, i.e., public consultations and referendums, has become of importance to practice. This is because the gap between intentions and resolutions, on the one hand, and real life, on the other, is still wide. This also applies, unfortunately, to important resolutions of the Sejm, as was conclusively demonstrated at the last session by the Chairman of the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] General Tadeusz Hupalowski (we shall return to this topic). If the basic shape of the public consultations and referendums is at least brought closer to social expectations and will offer a "[pleasant] surprise" in practice, this will be a step in a known direction.

1386

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## PRESS COMMENTARY ON EVE OF PAPAL VISIT

## Poll Gauges Public Expectations

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6-7 Jun 87 p 4

[Interview with A. Kania, director of the Polish Radio and TV's OBOP (Public Opinion Survey Center), by PAP: "On the Eve of the Pope's Visit" surtitled "OBOP Polls"]

[Question] Recently the OBOP conducted a poll on the Pope's coming visit to Poland. How great is the public's interest in that event?

[Answer] Of the representative sample of the adult population in Poland 44 percent answered that they are especially keeping track of the news on the Pope's coming visit, 50 percent that they are reading or listening to the related news, and 6 percent that they are relatively uninterested in that event. Thus the interest is extremely high.

[Question] What are the anticipated effects of the Pope's visit to Poland?

[Answer] A majority (83 percent) of the respondents declared that the visit would uplift the spirit of the people, that it would improve state-Church relations (76 percent), that it will enhance Poland's standing on the international scene (60 percent), that it will promote understanding among Poles of varying outlook (57 percent), and that it will increase religiosity among Poles (54 percent).

Fewer respondents expected a decline in drunkenness (24 percent) and the infusion of economic aid from the West (21 percent).

[Question] What are the expectations relating to television in connection with the Pope's coming visit?

[Answer] When asked how much time should be devoted by television to the Pope's visit during its duration, 30 percent of the respondents supported the maximum, even if at the expense of all other programs; 36 percent, a large proportion, but not at the expense of such programs as, e.g., films; and 30 percent declared that it should allot as much time as it does for other important visits. Thus, two-thirds of the respondents believe that television

should treat the Pope's visit as a special event. And, as known, from the published TV schedule, television intends to meet these expectations of viewers.

[Question] For many years the polling center of which you are the director has been exploring public opinion on relations between the state and the Church. What were the findings of this year's latest poll on this subject?

[Answer] The poll conducted last March revealed that 90 percent of the respondents viewed positively the present state of state-Church relations, with 49 percent viewing it as very good or good and 41 percent as correct. Not one respondent viewed that state as unsatisfactory or bad, but 6 percent thought it not too good and 4 percent had no opinion.

This is the most positive appraisal of state-Church relations found in our polls so far, and we have been conducting polls on this subject for as many as 10 years.

[Question] How to account for this highly positive appraisal?

[Answer] I believe the reasons are many, but I'll mention just a few of them -- those I know about from the results of public opinion polls.

The principal reason for the highly positive appraisal of state-Church relations is the feeling of the respondents, based on personal experience, that in Poland the constitutional right of freedom of conscience and freedom of religion and religious practices is a right genuinely respected and safeguarded by the state.

Thus, e.g., in last March's poll. 88 percent of the respondents declared that the church authorities and the clergy in our country are free to engage in religious activities, and 96 percent that believers in Poland have every opportunity to satisfy their religious needs.

The explicit increase in the positive appraisal of state-Church relations last year has certainly been influenced by the dialogue -- observed by the society -- between the state and the Church, and by the close cooperation of both sides in face of the Pope's coming visit. Here it is worth noting that, while in the case of the conflicts occurring between the state and the Church a majority of the respondents are prone to blame both sides, in the case of good relations between both sides, which are desired by nearly the entire nation, a majority of the respondents give credit to both sides.

[Question] What is the attitude toward the constitutional principle of church-state separation?

[Answer] Here some light could be shed by the answers to the question, "Is it a good principle that the Church should not influence the state's policy?" In a 1986 poll 62 percent of the respondents answered affirmatively, 15 percent negatively, and 23 percent had no opinion. In 1987 71 percent of the respondents answered yes, 14 percent no, and 15 percent had no opinion.

[Question] So far we have been speaking of state-Church relations. How does the public view the state's policy at present?

[Answer] Generally speaking, the polls indicate that the directions of that policy are accepted by a majority of the respondents but the manner in which it is implemented is critically, and often very sharply at that, viewed, also by a majority. In an overwhelming majority of cases this criticism is not tantamount to negating the aims and principles of that policy, though. This may be demonstrated by the results of polls gauging public confidence in various government institutions. These polls have been conducted for many years at the rate of five or six polls annually. Of course, they reveal marked fluctuations influenced by, chiefly, economic factors. Following a decline in public confidence due to the discontent caused by the March price increases, a poll conducted on 26 and 27 May 1987 produced the following findings: 69 percent of the respondents expressed confidence in the Sejm; 73 percent, in the Council of State, and 63 percent, in the government.

[Question] Now and then in this country, and more often abroad, persons opposed to socialism claim that a conflict between the authorities and the society exists in Poland. Some put it more mildly, saying that there exists a split between the authorities and the nation. Attempts also are made to present Poland as a country in which there exists a conflict between the state and the Church, in which the state restricts freedom of religion and religious practices. What do you think of that?

[Answer] It is to be thought that persons proclaiming such opinions would like this situation actually to exist. I believe that the poll findings which I cited above suffice to demonstrate that such judgments have little in common with the actual situation, that they do not mirror the situation in Poland but rather reflect strivings and interests that have nothing in common with Poland.

#### Foreign Press Coverage Noted

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 24, 9 Jun 87 p 9

["Foreign Echoes of the Visit" surtitled "The Pilgrimage of John Paul II to Poland"--PAP reports]

[Text] Washington, Budapest, Bonn, Havana, London, Vienna (PAP). The third visit by Pope John Paul II to his fatherland is eliciting great interest among foreign mass media. The major press agencies provide a running account of the visit. Much is being written about it in the press of many countries, which even before the arrival of John Paul II in Warsaw has provided commentaries on this event, reflecting on its various aspects -- domestic Polish, Polish-Vatican, and international.

The organ of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the daily NEPSZABADSAG, published an article by its special correspondent in Warsaw stating that the Pope's present visit to the fatherland is contributing to further improvements in state-Church relations.

The Monday THE WASHINGTON POST, in an article under the heading "On the Eve of the Visit to Poland," points out that during the period of the preparations for the Pope's visit the relations between the Polish authorities and the Episcopate have been exceptionally good.

The Italian daily UNITA, providing a picture of the situation in Poland on the eve of the Pope's trip, mentions that the authorities have taken further steps on the road toward democratization, and adds: "The country is, however, still undergoing an economic and sociopolitical crisis, although recently Poland has emerged from its international isolation and is occupied with putting in order the foundations for a national reconciliation."

The British THE ECONOMIST of 6 June discusses the Church's role in the struggle for a moral renewal of the nation. According to that weekly, both the Pope and Jozef Cardinal Glemp have reasons to worry. The Polish faithful, for all their evident respect for the Church, do not practice what they proclaim and profess. The number of divorces and abortions is rising, and alcoholism continues to grow, as does drug abuse. THE ECONOMIST believes that in this connection the principal topic of the Pope's visit will be moral questions.

In their initial reports from Warsaw last Monday the foreign mass media point to the cordial and completely orderly greeting of the Pope by the crowds gathered along his route [from the airport], to the mandatory prohibition against the sales of alcohol, and to other public-order ordinances.

A private conversation between John Paul II and the Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski lasted 70 minutes, Reuter emphasized.

#### Polish Vatican Commentator Anticipates Visit

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6-7 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by Zdzislaw Morawski: "On the Eve of the Visit of John Paul II" under the rubric "National Affairs"]

[Text] The universal conviction is that the third pastoral visit of John Paul II to his native country will be an important event not only to Poland but to the world as a whole.

The international background of this visit, which may be not as well perceived in the short term in Poland, is at times even placed in the foreground in Rome. Those who talk with Vatican diplomats are nearly always told that at a time when the West had followed the policy of isolating our country, the Pope was the first chief of state of a Western country to visit Poland. It also is said within the official Vatican that the Pope was the first head of state of a Western country to oppose the economic sanctions of the United States and other Western countries against Poland.

The current visit will occur under circumstances completely different from the previous visit, following the fiasco of attempts to isolate Poland, and after the many open or urgent political and moral problems that had existed in 1983 were overcome. At the same time, it will be held in a period of major changes

occurring in the socialist camp, as also reflected in the numerous peace and disarmament proposals unlocking new optimistic vistas for international cooperation.

All this accounts for the importance of the visit in its international aspect. That is precisely why the talks to be held in Warsaw between the Honored Guest and the Chairman of the Council of State will be watched by the world with interest and attention, not only as a reflection of Poland's role in the international dialogue but also as a major step promoting that dialogue. Following his meeting last January with Wojciech Jaruzelski in the Vatican, Pope John Paul II termed it a historic meeting. The talks in Warsaw will be a continuation of that historic meeting, which best defines its significance.

The contributions of John Paul II to world peace, viewed not only as a political goal but also as a moral behest, are universally known, and are a factor strengthening the international authority of the Apostolic See. This fact, combined with the convergence or identity of the positions of Poland and the Vatican on many issues, starting with disarmament or foreign debt, additionally enhances the importance of the visit.

International aspects also define the scope of the possible cooperation between Poland and the Apostolic See in their mutual relations. The period preceding the visit provided in this respect, according to common consensus behind the Bronze Gate and among the Polish church hierarchy, a proof of the considerable opportunities in this field. The cooperation between state authorities at all levels and church authorities in making the preparations for the visit took place in an excellent, or model, as they say in the Vatican, atmosphere. These preparations displayed goodwill and were highly efficient, and they demonstrated that an understanding is possible also about complex problems. The period preceding the visit was thus an experience that can and should produce lasting consequences useful to the country.

The Pope's entourage express the conviction and hope that the social and religious atmosphere surrounding his visit will crown the joint efforts of the Church and state authorities in our country to assure its fitting course.

In speaking of the cooperation between the Church and the State mention should be made of the oft-asked question as to whether the visit, the talks accompanying it, and the meetings between the Pope and the clergy and members of the Polish Episcopate, would lead to some new developments. While no predictions can be made, it can be judged solely on the basis of many recent comments made by the Pope to Poles and at other occasions, that the related problems, chiefly those linked to the moral position of Catholics in Poland are close to the Pope's heart. And the moral state of the individual is also mirrored by his attitude toward work, society, and state, his opposition to evil and social plagues. In the 26 sermons and speeches of the Pope to his compatriots these problems will certainly be reflected.

The visit, described as a pastoral pilgrimage, will be primarily a religious event. The Pope will travel to Poland in order to participate in major religious rallies linked to the Eucharist Congress.

Is not the broad participation of the authorities in organizing that part of the visit, too, a proof of the importance and scope of coexistence in Polish-Vatican relations as well? Of course yes! More even: following the January visit [of Jaruzelski] to the Vatican another important stride forward was taken in strengthening and broadening these relations. We all, irrespective of our religious beliefs, are aware that this is a common accomplishment of all Poles. Of a certainty also, much still has to be accomplished in the domain of coexistence by both the Church and the state. There now exists every condition for the visit to bear fruit in this respect as well.

Another element of the relations between the Church and the power-exercising political forces in Poland is the ideological dispute. This is not a specifically Polish dispute, being as old as mankind. It would be naive to blur the differences in outlook existing in our country as well. If the visit is considered from this point of view, then the very fact that it is to take place, the fact that the domestic mass media, starting with television, will also report on religious ceremonies, prayers, and sermons, causes this visit to be a manifestation of tolerance and good relations between believers and unbelievers in Poland.

I am convinced that the visit shall, also owing to its religious nature, make thinking people aware of the value and importance of tolerance to public tranquility, that it will make us all aware that mutual tolerance is a supreme moral value in all modern societies with a pluralist outlook. Without that value there can be no mention of the dignity of the individual, one of the guiding ideas of the entire current Pontificate.

The Pope is coming to Poland as a head of state, as the Supreme Pontiff of the Church, but sentimentally speaking, above all as a Pole visiting his home, his country, after years of absence. He is coming to us all following difficult foreign travels during which he has also met with controversial, critical, or even hostile reception.

We shall thus greet him cordially and fittingly as our great compatriot.

'KIT' Notes Advantage for Government

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 24, 13 Jun 87 p 16

[Interview with 'KIT,' a POLITYKA columnist, by himself: "Interview with KIT" under the rubric "Polish Cuisine"]

[Text] Two weeks ago POLITYKA had published an issue abounding in interviews. The interviews were with Zbigniew Brzezinski, Jerzy Kosinski, and the filmmaker Abuladze, the author of the film "Repentance." That issue surprisingly met with a tremendous response "in town," as used to be said. Various more or less close acquaintances praised POLITYKA, saying that "an European wind blew from it." This was something of a surprise to me, because the role of interviews in our Press has been mostly vicarious, resorted to by reporters when they do not want, or do not know how, to write an article; they then interview a public figure who, just to get rid of the interviewer, says whatever comes into his mind. The reporter is paid for it, while the

interviewee must anyway write the entire interview for him so that his comments would not be misquoted or distorted.

However, as demonstrated by the interviews in that issue of POLITYKA, the role of an interview can also be stimulating. This is because the reporter -- but he must be a good reporter -- can ask questions which he himself lacks the courage to answer were he simply to write an article, while the interviewee answers them by expressing his opinions, on veiling his views only lightly, feeling rightly that their publication is the reporter's problem. In this way, despite the courtesies couching the interview form, the results are much more frank and candid than in a majority of well-considered and reasoned articles.

With this idea in mind, I decided to interview a POLITYKA columnist, "KTT." Below are excerpts from that interview.

[Question] I noticed that recently your weekly column has made no mention of the event currently exciting nearly the entire public opinion in Poland, namely, the coming -- the interview was held on 3 June -- visit of Pope John Paul II to our country. Could it be that this event does not impress you at all?

[Answer] Nothing like that. While I certainly am not responding to this visit the way many faithful do, that is, I am rather indifferent to its religious and ceremonial aspects, I am awaiting it with great interest as a social or even political fact.

[Question] This is not a political visit. This is a pastoral pilgrimage of the Supreme Pontiff, who at the same time is a Pole. This is how the authorities in Poland interpret it.

[Answer] Of course. The authorities, too, insofar as I can judge, perceive this visit as an opportunity for favorably influencing international opinion on Poland and reemphasizing the openness of their policy. But every Papal visit to Poland also causes such a great stir of emotions and minds in our country that it is bound to leave after it some permanent traces that are not just of the religious kind. This has been proved by the two previous Papal visits.

[Question] How?

[Answer] Don't be naive, sir. All the domestic and foreign commentators were agreed that the workers' protest of August 1980 had not been unrelated to the previous first Papal visit. I don't of course mean to say that that visit had caused the protest; this would be totally untrue. The sources of that protest are rooted deeper, in our social relations, economy, and mode of exercise of power, but the Papal visit did introduce the first accents of independence, courage, and dignity, which accelerated or served to exacerbate the growing contradictions and unwillingness to accept the existing situation. After all, the Pope's photograph was hung on the gate of the striking Gdansk Shipyard.

[Question] Are you saying that the Pope was a founder of Solidarity?

[Answer] Nothing like that! After all, the Pope is the head of the worldwide Catholic Church, while the Church in Poland had repeatedly warned Solidarity through the mouths of its two successive Primates against adventurism and extremism. This does not mean, however, that -- insofar as I can judge -- certain moral postulates concerning human dignity and human rights, as well as certain social postulates concerning the dignity of work, for example, were alien to the Church. After all, these postulates were close to many people in Poland who did not support Solidarity, and it was because of them, too, that the authorities had for a long time treated Solidarity seriously as a potential ally for social renewal.

[Question] Fine, but what about the Pope's second visit, the one following the martial law?

[Answer] Its social meaning is highly complicated, although at present it can be seen somewhat more clearly. Essentially, it has contributed to eliminating underground opposition. Many people had unwisely expected the Pope to promote internal struggle, resistance, or boycott of the authorities. Such crazy notions did exist. But the Pope did nothing like that. On the contrary, he had met twice with General Jaruzelski, granted a mere family audience to the leader of the disbanded Solidarity, and pointed to Poles the path of tranquility and stabilization. He left stranded the half-baked enthusiasts who did not prove themselves as leaders of public opinion.

[Question] But since then the Church's role has greatly grown in strength.

[Answer] Of course. After all, the Church has always promoted its own interests, which are not compatible in everything with the interests of the communist party. Were it otherwise, we would be living in a surrealist world.

[Question] Aren't you by any chance getting close to all those recent Marxists and atheists who have suddenly turned 180 degrees around and taken the side of the Church, even giving sermons from the pulpit?

[Answer] No fear of that. I consider myself a leftist in the traditional meaning of the term and will probably die a leftist.

[Question] Praised be the Lord.

[Answer] Thank you.

[Question] Anyhow, what do you expect the third Papal visit to be like?

[Answer] I'm no prophet, and neither I am a politician in the sense that I hold no office and express no opinion other than my own, that is, the opinion of a moderately -- for Polish conditions -- independent nonparty publicist. It is from this position that I can disclose my views to you.

[Question] I'm all ears.

[Answer] We agreed that in recent years the standing of the Church has grown tremendously in Poland. It represents a great material, moral, cultural, and



organizational potential. Yet our country as a whole is in a grave material situation, something I have often been writing about. Its moral situation also is grave, and by this I mean not only manifestations of social pathology such as alcoholism, but also apathy, low productivity, waste of public property, emphasis on short-range measures to the disadvantage of the long range. And lastly its organizational situation also is deplorable, by which I mean low efficiency of the apparatus of governing and the unwillingness of many potentially valuable individuals to commit themselves to organizational activity. The conclusion seems to be clear.

[Question] Namely?

[Answer] That it would be good to find some way to mobilize for the state at least a part of the colossal potential accumulated by the Church.

[Question] What are you saying? The Church hastening to help the state?

[Answer] No! The Church is a suprabate organization and nowhere, with the exception of Italy, has it become involved in current state policies. It has other aims, other tasks, because ultimately "The Heavenly Kingdom is not of this world," which many people, believers even, seem to forget at times. But to Catholics, that is, to people living within the orbit of the Church's doctrines -- and not just superficially, ceremonially alone but understanding the intents and conduct of the Church -- the country they are living in, the prosperity of that country, and what they can do for it, are not matters of indifference. I think that this idea should be more clearly articulated than in the past, reflected in constructive and more explicit forms.

[Question] Organizational forms?

[Answer] How would I know?

[Question] But the people of whom you are speaking have many reservations about the modes of exercise of power in the socialist state. If a large part of them remain aloof [from the state] or find self-commitment in internal church structures, for example, cultural ones, this is no accident.

[Answer] What about leftists, socialists, even party members? Don't they have any reservations? The entire socialist world is gripped by a great debate on modes of exercise of power, in economy and in the life of the society, and everyone has reservations about the existing situation -- even the secretaries general of the ruling communist parties.... All this reduces to the question of monopolies, in my opinion. As regards the economy, for example, it is evident that monopolies are a relic of the past and an obstacle to growth, and that the time of competition and plurality is coming. Plurality is capable of unleashing greater energies than monopoly.

[Question] In view of this, what do you ultimately expect of coming visit?

[Answer] That it will be less fruitful if it culminates in nationwide emotion-- and here also I refer to the nonreligious aspects of the visit -- and more fruitful if it provides an impetus for deliberations on what can be

accomplished by common effort and how to proceed in order to rescue Poland from its humiliating, to put it in a nutshell, position in the late 20th century.

[Question] But that would require all kinds of compromise.

[Answer] Everywhere in the world politics is the art of compromise, as was recently reminded by Zbigniew Brzezinski in the interview he granted to POLITYKA. Rigid resistance is not politics.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

[Answer] Thanks but no thanks.

#### PZPR Daily Comments on Pope's Foreign Travels

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jun 87 p 4

[Article by Marek Kulesza: "Between Optimism and Realism" surtitled "The Pope Travels Around the World"]

[Excerpts] The coming trip of John Paul II to Poland will be his 35th trip abroad during the nearly 9 years of his Pontificate. It used to be that popes were "prisoners of the Vatican," almost never leaving St. Peter's See. It was not until the times of Paul VI that this tradition was broken and he commenced prolonged travels across the world. However, John Paul II endowed such travels with greater importance and turned them into one of his principal modes of action.

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Let us recall that the Pope's current pilgrimage to Poland is his third visit to his native country: the first took place on 2-10 June 1979 (and was his second trip abroad from Rome), and the second, on 16-23 June 1983.

Analysis of the Pope's foreign pilgrimages reveals that most often he has been visiting Latin America and Africa. His special interest in these two continents is readily explained: in Africa the Church is making its greatest missionary efforts and waging a broad offensive, while Latin America is the site of the world's greatest concentration of Catholics, and everything indicates that within some 15 years half of the world's Catholics will inhabit it.

#### Intentions and Disappointments

The travels of John Paul II always produce great social resonance and are a source of profound spiritual experiences to millions of people. There is no doubt that they serve the Church well, strengthening and reviving faith and advantageously stirring the emotions of broad masses of believers. They also act like a tonic on internal conflicts within local churches, wherever these occur. They elevate the prestige of the local church hierarchy. The spectacular nature of many meetings between the Pope and the faithful, which

take place in vast squares and sports stadiums and are broadcast for hours by television, also attracts the attention of people of other beliefs or unbelievers, creating an aura of universal interest around the Church.

"The Pope's mobility certainly fits the present times," according to the West German weekly DER SPIEGEL. "The expenses, running into millions, of the previous 33 foreign and 55 domestic trips, were -- as measured by the criteria of the Vatican -- an excellent investment. The Pope's active travels have prompted the world press to report on him more often than on any of his predecessors, even despite the general decline of interest in the Church at that."

These clear and direct advantages ensuing therefrom to the Catholic Church are generally not questioned by anyone. But this is not so when it comes to evaluating the deeper and more lasting consequences of those travels.

Many observers claim that in general no such lasting consequences have been perceived. The state of public morality has not improved at all. Emotions and raptures pass; the return to common quotidian problems rapidly obliterates their traces. Defense of the lives of unborn fetuses and the postulate of permanence of conjugal bonds -- both permanent elements of the sermons of John Paul II -- still remain wishful thinking. The appeal to the mighty of this world, often repeated in the Pope's homilies, for closer adherence to justice and respect for human rights, is producing no results at all. Real life goes on, as if completely aside from Papal appeals and instructions. God, religion, and faith, as it turns out, produce no great influence on the real attitudes of people, who experience this religiosity very superficially. And it is these people who account for the bulk of the faithful.

Such are the conclusions of the observers of the Papal trips, who find that, from the vantage point of time they have not tangibly influenced the life of the society. In this connection, they point to one other aspect. Namely, in certain countries, especially in the most unfortunate, oppressed, poverty-stricken, and suffering ones, these visits cause exaggerated and completely unjustified expectations. After life returns to its normal, crippled routine, a feeling of disenchantment is engendered, and sometimes even the feeling of hopelessness is aggravated.

### Struggling Against Evil

Naturally, in no case can the Pope personally be blamed for stimulating these illusory expectations. One of the reasons for this gap between human expectations and the Pope's intentions is the failure to perceive that the Pope -- as he personally, and quite explicitly at that, at times, has emphasized (cf. "Salvifici doloris," the encyclical on the Christian meaning of human suffering, 1984) -- does not believe that the problem of social sufferings can be ever resolved through institutionalized action. John Paul II said, "Institutions are highly important and indispensable, but no institution of itself can replace the human heart, human sympathy, human love, human initiative, when it comes to alleviate the suffering of another human being."

According to Church ideology, the best antidote for social evils is universal charity and mutual love among human beings; the final victory of goodness and charity should be awaited calmly and patiently by suffering and oppressed people; sooner or later evil will, owing to religion, give way to good. These teachings do not, however, convince everyone. Especially now that they are accompanied by an explicit condemnation of those who cause that evil. And this is precisely what happened during the numerous trips of John Paul II to the countries governed in an especially repressive and ruthless manner, where the cup of suffering is overflowing.

Here it could be pointed out that, during his worldwide travels, the Pope is naturally exposed to countless political traps which he tries to avoid as much as he can. Now, one way of avoiding them is glossing over, ignoring, and not taking a position on the political realities in the country visited. This is made possible by the narrowly religious nature of his pilgrimages. Even so, the Pope makes numerous exceptions to this rule, making it clear with whose side his sympathy lies, which political forces he favors more. He has done so, for example, during his recent visit to Chile.

In this case, too, observers of his foreign trips doubt the real importance of gestures of this kind. Following the Pope's visit to Chile General Pinochet's self-confidence has remained unshaken or perhaps even greater: a great impression was produced on the entire world by the news of the massacring by "unknown perpetrators" of the courageous worker Mario Mejios who, in the Pope's presence, dared to condemn publicly the persecution and exploitation of working people in that country. In the course of the recent visit of John Paul II to the FRG there occurred a marked revival of reactionary, revisionist, neo-Nazi groups and the surge of criticism of the Pope, directed from very different sides, has risen higher than ever.

#### In the Light of Polls

Naturally, in Poland, the fatherland of Karol Wojtyla, the reception awaiting him will be quite different than that in the FRG. Polls recently conducted by the Public Opinion Survey Center have shown that this visit is meeting with positive responses from a definite majority of Poles. The atmosphere is unusually friendly. To many of the respondents (43.2 percent) this will be principally a religious experience. A substantial part of the respondents (38.5 percent) stressed the Pope's personality, approach, and worldwide fame. To 10 percent of the respondents the greatest attraction is the possibility of seeing him and participating in the ceremonies celebrated by him.

Despite the nearly universal optimism in expecting the consequences of this event, the commentary of the Public Opinion Survey Center on the abovementioned polls states that a large group of the respondents does not link to it any hopes or expectations (33.5 percent, compared with 40.2 percent entertaining some hopes). Similarly, a substantial group (25.9 percent) had no opinion about its expectations from the visit.

I think that the results of these polls yielded no special revelations. The Pope's foreign visits, as I noted above, always and everywhere in the world awaken some expectations that are the greater the greater the scale of

domestic problems in the visited country is. In Poland, as known, we still have many unsolved problems and many unmet needs and aspirations. A substantial segment of the society is, however, realistic enough to believe that the mode of solutions to these problems will be decided by actual social and economic processes, actual attitudes and interests, and the nature itself of the existing development contradictions, and that while the question of goodness and goodwill in interpersonal relations does have a bearing on surmounting these contradictions, it is not of fundamental importance or, the more so, sufficient in itself.

Comments from Catholic Press, Jedynak

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 24, 14 Jun 87 p 3

[Prepared by (JK): "He Understands Us" under the rubric "Press Review"]

[Text] This is a continuation of the review, commenced a week ago, of comments in the Press on the eve of the meeting between Poles and the Pope. In GWIAZDA MORZA (No 11, 1987) a stand is taken by Coast bishops-ordinaries of Gdansk, Chelmno, and Szczecin-Kamien. Bishop Tadeusz Goclowski of Gdansk commented, inter alia: "Poland with its internal situation as an arena of confrontation between Christian and secular values is a subject of special interest. In what direction will mankind proceed? What will be its choice? Which values shall win? Christians have no doubts whatsoever that the paths toward these final solutions may differ. These reflections on the human family are linked to the Pope from Poland.

"We observe the activities of the Holy Father in Rome and throughout the world. But as the nation whence John Paul II originates we desire to have him very often in our midst. I think that the world understands this. And we need greatly his presence in our midst. He understands us and our problems....

"In view of the location of our city, it has been a place of cultural, political, and economic synthesis and it has influenced somewhat not only Poland. The 20th Century has been a special time to Gdansk: the rise of the Free City, the outbreak of World War II, the city's death and resurrection, the tragedy of the shed fraternal worker blood and the rise of a movement which has united people of various outlook but with a single vision of solidarity in the defense and cooperation of the community of working people. All this is constantly in the mind of the Holy Father John Paul II.

"We are thoroughly preparing ourselves to receive the Holy Father on the Coast.... We already are thinking of the fruits of that pilgrimage. We included them in the intentions of the masses to be celebrated by the reverend bishops during that week: full respect for the rights of working people, a morally healthy Polish family, creative cooperation between white- and blue-collar workers, sobriety among working people, preservation of the sacred nature of Sunday, respect for ill and elderly people, and lastly constant concern for religious-moral life."

And here is an excerpt from the Szczecin press:

"Szczecin is the northwestern bastion of the Church and Poland. Farther west and north there are only a few diaspora churches. The Church has returned here, because Poland has returned here. Since then, already for more than 40 years, the Church has been fulfilling a great integrative mission, building the Fatherland's unity and exercising its principal, Apostolic mission....

"Szczecin is the city of workers' protest in December 1970 and August 1980 -- the Holy Father remembers it. When on 14 August 1986 I renewed our ardent invitation for him to deign to come to Szczecin, the Holy Father asked about many details concerning our history and our present life, but the chief topic was the events of August 1980 in Szczecin.... At the time we had passed a great test, and may all this be remembered and immortalized. Each year on 30 August we hold major prayer ceremonies for this purpose in the Cathedral."

Continuing this exchange, the Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY (No 22, 1987) offered a space for comments to, among others, the well-known Silesian social activist Tadeusz Jedynek. Relating to the main question asked, namely, "What kind of Polish society will greet the Holy Father in 1987?" Jedynek answered:

"Of a certainty, in general, we can be accused of many things. Fearfully, we observe the growing social plagues and crime. Some people are trying to persuade us that these are 'age-long defects of our national character.' But they have not always been present. Their causes are obvious. After what we have lived through as individuals and as a nation, a relaxation of morals and narcissistic and uncommitted attitudes are understandable. However, alcoholism and drug addiction imperil the foundations of not only the family but also national existence, and the fact that they are growing demonstrates that the society has as it were lost its instinct for self-preservation. This is a dangerous phenomenon, owing to not only moral but also social and national considerations. This is accompanied by other disturbing phenomena: apathy, growing indifference to anything other than feathering one's own nest. It can be said that the feeling of personal dignity has grown weaker in people, that they have reached a state of resignation close to enslavement. At the same time though, many people are becoming increasingly aware of these perils and desirous of countering them. This awakens the hope that we shall climb out of this morass and again live, think, and act. The material conditions in this country are very poor and the state of the economy does not presage a rapid change in the situation. This is compounded by other perils ensuing from devastation of natural environment, particularly here in Silesia and in the Coal Basin. Little is being done to change the existing situation, although, it must be admitted, it is possible at least to speak and write about it, and this in itself is not little.

"The condition of our society is thus not good. It is living in a mood of impotence, not only owing to the economic crisis. However, it has not lost its faith in the meaning of continuing actions and efforts to rescue both itself and its country. We have also learned to appreciate such virtues and values as patience and waiting. I personally am convinced that it is not by force but precisely by patience and interpersonal solidarity that tremendous accomplishments can be made, seemingly insurmountable barriers can be surmounted and seemingly permanent and lasting evil can be overcome. Both

historical experience and faith teach us this. The Pope encourages precisely this mode of action among all, and not only among us in this country.

"I shall thus come to the meeting with the Pope in the belief, as a Catholic and a Pole, that this time, too, it will be highly productive. I am convinced that my meeting with the Pope (of course, not a personal meeting) will enable me to continue on the path I have taken, which seems to me the only right path in the times in which we live and in the situation in which we have found ourselves."

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## CATHOLIC PRESS VOICES EXPECTATIONS OF PAPAL VISIT

## Krakow Weekly Notes 'Manipulation'

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 23, Jun 87 p 1

[Article by (J.H.): "Again in the Fatherland"]

[Text] "Come back!" shouted vast masses of Cracovians along the route of departure of John Paul II when he was ending his second visit to this country in June 1983. At that time that cry reflected mainly a wish, a reluctance to part, and hopefulness, but certainly no one had expected that the Pope-Pole would once more be in the Fatherland in another June, 4 yrs later. In a few days we shall be greeting him for the third time. His pilgrimage will be one day shorter this time, but it will extend to new cities and provinces which have so far been patiently and loyally awaiting his visit. It will cover the Coast, Lublin, Tarnow, and workers' Lodz. And, as before, it will include Czestochowa, the Nation's Capital, and Krakow. The generosity of this recurrent presence of the Holy Father among his compatriots places us in a privileged status -- certainly not owing to our merits but perhaps owing to the need we are experiencing and to our strong and faithful expectations.

Four years have passed since the great events of that other, second pilgrimage. It would be difficult to grasp all the differences in time, situation, and hopes [-----][Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Point 6, Article 2 (DZ.U., Item 99, No 20; revised in DZ.U., Item 204, No 44, 1983)] [i.e., censored passage] and comprehend the entire truth of those times and expectations, of the resonance of Papal teachings, and of the entirety of our experience. But this understanding has slowly been growing afterward, in the subsequent years, among the broad masses of the society, and still continues to grow.

That period has not been any easier than the one separating the Pope's first pilgrimage from the second, 1979-1983. The society's experience had been just as eventful then, and the international situation just as complicated. Dramas and tragedies took place -- the murder of the Rev. Popieluszko, but so did good and encouraging events such as the release of political prisoners. The map of events and names was enriched with new data. Issues and initiatives that had at the time existed in embryo have now taken root in the Polish landscape. Social awareness has become sharper. The experience of good has



grown. Lasting works have been created. Authority and intercessors have matured. But there also occurred disappointment, pain, perils and humiliations, and a wave of negative, nihilizing happenings, and a feeling of moral emptiness and perdition also has been present.

If the question of what kind of Poland nowadays awaits the Holy Father is to be tentatively answered, it could be said that it is a more exhausted Poland, a Poland of lasting crisis, a Poland contesting with the temptation of discouragement, a Poland growing destitute and careworn, but also a Poland that tenaciously opposes the opinion that "So much is happening that does not depend on anyone," expressed by Konrad in "Liberation." It is a Poland that continues to ask through the mouths of the most stubborn ones what can be done and where?

It is a Poland that now breathes more easily and is more open but still uncertain. More even, it thirsts for authenticity, contrary to appearances. It can be said that the drama of the present consists precisely in the contest between authenticity and appearances. And on the outcome of this contest hinge the future and the hopes for it.

Much indicates that this time everyone is waiting for the visit by the Pope-Pole. More even, this waiting transcends the boundaries of Poland. And this is something new. The authority of the Supreme Pontiff has begun to be acknowledged in every domain of public life, and everyone is attempting, in one way or another, to acknowledge Him. This threatens, however, a flood of simplified, shallow, and even error-ridden commentaries. And this is a greater danger than open criticism and attacks. The need to grasp and interpret the truth of Papal teachings in their pure and complete meaning is a particularly topical obligation at present. But at the same time, every manifestation of His growing scope of influence must be cause for rejoicing.

Some engage in feverish manipulations while others are feverishly wrestling with their consciences. Did we disappoint the Holy Father? This also is a useful activity. However, it seems that the heart of the matter is to again open oneself to the message of St. Peter's Successor. The hope he brings us has never been a shortrange one. His messages always reach far beyond the immediate future. His teachings during his two previous pilgrimages represent a complex and rich whole, although many of the principal expectations remain unfulfilled to this day and programs open to the future have been undertaken little or not at all. Now the next stage will occur. Soon now the Pope shall lead this part of the universal Church, so close to him; he shall lead it for a while and show the further direction.

During His first pilgrimage he had declared in Mogila, "The Cross cannot be separated from men's labor. Christ cannot be separated from men's labor. This was confirmed precisely here in Nowa Huta [steel plant], and this was a new beginning of evangelization...." This was a program and we undertook it.

During His second pilgrimage, he declared to the Polish Episcopate in Czystochowa: "Truth is the first and fundamental prerequisite for social renewal. Without it there can be no mention of that social dialogue which the Episcopate so justly is postulating and which the society is certainly

expecting." This postulate and this expectation have remained entirely topical.

Once again He will speak to us. We will listen attentively and intensify our will for good and our readiness to respond.

#### Warsaw Weekly Seeks Restoration of Hope

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI In Polish No 23, 7 Jun 87 p 1

[Article by Editorial Team: "Find Hope Again"]

[Text] The Eucharist Congress and our third encounter with the Holy Father John Paul II are approaching. What will those 7 June days be like to us?

Above all, they should afford an occasion for inner renewal, for the spiritual rallying of all Poles round the values contained in the words of Christ and His Good News. The Holy Father is coming to strengthen our faith and our hope, and once again to proclaim the Gospel of love.

The pilgrimages of John Paul II have already become a permanent element of the Polish religious and national landscape. We know well their accompanying special festive mood and the fortifying collective feeling of shared sentiment among the throngs gathered round the Pope. We also remember the uplifting moments of common prayer and religious concentration, the solemn masses celebrated on Polish soil by St. Peter's Successor. We also are aware of the great power of the words of John Paul II, of their strong influence on our attitudes and aspirations in religious as well as social life. The Holy Father is not coming in order that we may forget about the difficult Polish reality during the at least several days that we will spend with Him. It is rather that he desires to encourage us to respond to its challenge, that he wants to invite us to reinterpret the signs of the times in the light of the Gospel.

The importance of the Papal pilgrimage this year is particularly enhanced by the fact that it will coincide with the Eucharist Congress. Thus, John Paul II is coming in order to offer to us the Church's most valuable gift -- the Christ present in the Eucharist. Christ is the source of the Church's might, shared by all who open themselves up to it. Giving testimony of Christ's presence is a permanent mission of the Church, exercised always and everywhere. This mission includes not only everyday life but also solemn events serving to relive the mystery of Christ's presence in the Eucharist more fully and intensely than ever. The Eucharist Congress, which will be chaired by the Holy Father, is precisely such a special event; it affords an opportunity for vivifying our faith and implanting it more strongly in everyday life, which is sometimes so distant from the universally declared Christian hierarchy of values. Let us not neglect this opportunity.

"The renewal of the moral life of every believer, based on the Eucharist, should promote transforming unjust or irrational social structures and a poor organization of public life," stated the bishops in the Communique on the 219th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate.

The meeting with John Paul II during the Eucharist Congress will thus be of a not only religious but also, and to a no less essential extent, social nature. But in order to bear fruit in the social domain, it must become a great talk among Poles, a mutual exchange of thoughts and experience between us and the Pope. Are we prepared for this invitation to shared reflections which He is bringing us?

Do we understand well the meaning of the meeting awaiting us, the meaning harbored in the dialogue in which we should participate with the Holy Father as our partner? Is not a hope slumbering in us that John Paul II will relieve us of the necessity of personal choice and with a single gesture alter the Polish reality? And yet, His strength lies in the Word, and only in the Word. What echo will it produce in the minds and consciences of Poles?

These are important questions. Too often we forget that we can answer them only through our own attitude, that in this sense no one, not even the Pope, will replace us. Much depends on this answer. For at present the Polish national community is facing difficult challenges. John Paul II will find this country to be in many respects different from that which he had toured in 1979 and 1983. Following the experiences of recent years we are aware of our national aspirations, but also of the constraints to which they are subject. The great social movement [Solidarity] whose roots are traceable to the June pilgrimage of the Pope 8 years ago has made us aware of the necessity of changes in the nation's public life, and at the same time it has awakened hopes for their materialization. At present, in face of the Polish crisis, the need for these changes is obvious to all, but disbelief in their feasibility is almost as common. Fear of the future, of the country's moral and material degradation, is growing.

How to find a way out of the vicious circle of impotence into which we are being impelled by the vexations of quotidian life? How to build a national solidarity that may not lead to a sudden change but that could at least halt the process of a renewed disintegration of the society which we are witnessing?

Poles nowadays are a nation united round fundamental values but also one convinced of the need for a plurality of the paths leading to their translation into reality. The concern for the common good must, however, in order to be translated into practice, find instruments of public action, and it should gain the place due it in the system of the state and law. "The state's strength, that is, the chance for overcoming the difficulties, depends on the Nation's support. That support will not be gained unless the state wins confidence in its measures, unless it creates the conditions for citizen involvement in the cause of renewal, for the rise and development of creative civic initiatives," declared Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski on 30 March of this year. Without a free initiative of citizens united by common needs, nature of work, or kind of social interests, nowadays it is not possible to bring Poland onto the path leading toward the future. The reconstruction of the network of varied associations promoting mutual solidarity within and among local communities and undertaking on their own the resolution of social and economic issues can bear fruit in the form of genuine action of all Poles for the sake of the common good. This is taught to us by the experience of

Polish history and by the social advice of the Church, and this is the appeal made to us by the Polish bishops and by the Holy Father John Paul II, who proclaims the Gospel of social justice and love.

The days of the Papal pilgrimage and the Eucharist Congress should thus become the hour of a major examination of conscience by Poles. Fortified by words of faith, hope, and love, let us find in them a Christian inspiration for the struggle against the evil harbored in us and around us.

#### Academic, Activist Offer Views

Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY In Polish No 22, 31 May 87 p 5

[Commentaries by August Chelkowski and Tadeusz Jedynak: "We -- Before the Meeting with the Pope"]

[Text] Several years separate us from the previous visit by the Pope to Poland. They have been years of difficult experiences and another upsurge of exhaustion. They were bound to leave traces. It is thus worthwhile to ask the following questions:

-- What kind of society is greeting the Holy Father in 1987?

-- Are we again different?

-- How do I view myself and my fellow Poles on the occasion of the third meeting with the Pope-Pole?

-- What will I and my fellow Poles bring to that meeting?

We asked these questions of several wellknown artists, scholars, publicists, and social activists.

Last week we published three replies. Today we publish two more below. We would like these replies to provide food for thought to all our readers.

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AUGUST CHELKOWSKI, physicist, professor at Silesian University: Above all, I am convinced that the Pope has a special bond with us, his compatriots. This is demonstrated by nearly his entire Pontificate of more than 8 years. After all, within less than a year following his election he arrived to our country in order to strengthen our faith and hope for a better future, and the effects of his trip were too obvious to justify. At the time, we began to feel that we are a national community instead of living in a centrifugal, dispersed society [-----][Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Point 6, Article 2 (DZ.U., Item 99, No 20; revised in DZ.U., Item 204, No 44, 1983)] [i.e., censored passage]. Those were indeed the times of a great awakening, renewal, and vast hope. They bore undeniable fruit and awakened us from our great lethargy.

However, following the period of hope and despite such evident fruits, there came the great collapse. Even so, the feeling of disappointment and depression did not nullify the spiritual effects of the awakening. We matured and henceforth remained a national community imbued with spiritual strength and desire to act, despite the difficulties, disappointments, and crises. Such was the situation in which took place the Pope's second pilgrimage, which again strengthened us in our faith and hope for a better future. We did not lose our faith in the ultimate victory of good and of common sense, in a victory forged not by a momentary elation but by daily sacrificial work on oneself and for others. That period fruited in many practical and important manifestations of renewal of the life of the society, the family, and above all religion. Even so, the hope for the eagerly awaited genuine materialization of lofty ideals, for the reign of justice and also for better living standards, has nowadays again markedly diminished.

[-----][Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Point 6, Article 2 (DZ.U., Item 99, No 20; revised in DZ.U., Item 204, No 44, 1983)] [i.e., censored passage].

Drunkenness, drug abuse, disrespect for life, and daily growing anxiety provide uncomplimentary proofs of the moral and psychological state of a sizable segment of the society. The amount of work is growing, but the number of workers declines. Such appears to be the reality on the eve of the next arrival of the Pope-Pilgrim.

We are nowadays a sorely tested and disappointed but also, I believe, more mature society which has not yet forfeited its faith and attendant hope that perhaps finally things will start moving, the ice-dam will break. Because things simply cannot continue the way they are.

That is why I expect us to be ready to exert more efforts when we come out for the meeting with the Pope, and that is why I expect the Pope to help indicate to us an effective path toward renewal and recovery. I also cherish the hope, and I think that I am not alone in it, that perhaps ultimately many declarations will become deeds nourishing faith in the chances for and expediency of exerting strenuous efforts that require authentic sacrifices. Lastly, I believe that if the society will be convinced that it is treated seriously and not as a tool, then it will exert the necessary effort. Probably all of us realize that such efforts can be undertaken only in the atmosphere of an authentic dialogue, respect, and cooperation, only if all are convinced that they can indeed influence their destinies [-----][Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Point 6, Article 2 (DZ.U., Item 99, No 20; revised in DZ.U., Item 204, No 44, 1983)] [i.e., censored passage].

Nowadays the Pope and the Church are acting in the spirit of an authentic reconciliation. This gives us hope for a better future, for us and for the next generations, to whom we should pass on not only a world without war but also a life-giving and environmentally intact Earth.

That is why I cherish the hope that the coming next visit by the Pope shall encourage us to be active in the spirit of love rather than hate; that words

of encouragement shall fall on fertile soil and bear desired fruit, and that yet another crisis, which no one needs, with consequences that are difficult to anticipate, will not occur. Because, as St. Paul declared in his Letter to the Galatians, all Law is fulfilled in the Commandment of love, and warned, "But if one punishes and devours another, look ye that ye may not devour each other." And that is something I do not wish not only for myself and my neighbors but also for those who do not share my beliefs.

TADEUSZ JEDYNAK, hydraulic engineer, social activist: The anticipated first visit of the Pope to Poland was preceded by symptoms demonstrating that the changes for which a Pole's election to St. Peter's throne had awakened hopes were still far off. The contemporary authorities had mixed feelings about the Pope's coming. They found it difficult to adopt the same explicitly unwelcoming attitude as that in 1966 which had resulted in an empty Papal throne on the walls of Jasna Gora Monastery during the celebrations of the Polish Millenium. Here and there attempts were made to create a not too friendly climate for that visit. At some mines, for example, miners were asked to sign an appeal declaring more or less that the Pope's visit was not particularly needed. The appeal was of course supposed to be voluntary, but those refusing to sign it could expect to be docked for "unjustified days of work," that is, for loafing. I do not know how many had signed that appeal, but I know that the drive was suddenly halted. Obviously, it was decided that the political benefits of the Pope's visit would outweigh the disadvantages.

And it happened. The Pope came. He came as a pilgrim and at the same time the Peter of our times. I think that the Pope's words made not only me but many others aware of what man should really be. They also made us aware of the meaning of human solidarity, and they influenced tremendously our subsequent attitudes and conduct. I do not claim that, had it not been for that historic encounter with the Nation, there would have been no Solidarity. But I am convinced that then there would not have arisen the kind of Solidarity that manifested itself from the very outset, both at the Gdansk and the July Manifesto shipyards -- that is, an association of working people open to all and at the same time an association with God, with the Church, with our millenium-long Christian tradition. And I think that the Pope, who has been giving his moral support to that great social and national movement from its very beginning, sensed this clearly.

I experienced the second pilgrimage of the Pope to Poland in 1983 under very special personal circumstances. A great deal had changed in this country, and a great distance arose between us as we had been in the 1970's and 1980-1981 and as we were in 1983. Divisions deepened, mistrust grew, and many lost hope. Following the trauma of the martial law and the outlawing of Solidarity, it was difficult to regain psychological balance. Many people lost not only their footing but also employment; many were detained and imprisoned, and many left abroad, seeing no prospects for themselves in this country. And yet, it appears that at the same time we matured sufficiently to understand that the Pope's religious mission is also a great social message reflected in both his homilies and encyclicals. Richer by past experience, we understood better and were bolder in thought and action. And we did not get disappointed in "our Pope." He came, in order to strengthen not only our faith but our feelings of dignity as Catholics and Poles. He reminded us of genuine values, as well as

of the meaning and purpose of human actions. And that was the great gift of the Bishop of Rome to His compatriots, a gift that has hardly been wasted, although it may not yet have been grasped and experienced by all.

But what about the present, the year 1987?

An unequivocal answer is difficult. Of a certainty, in general, we can be accused of many things. Fearfully we observe the growing social plagues and crime. Some people attempt to persuade us that these are our "age-long national defects." But they have not always been present, and their causes are obvious. After what we have lived through as individuals and as a nation, moral relaxation and attitudes of narcissism and uncommitment are understandable. However, alcoholism and drug abuse are imperiling the foundations of not only the family but also national existence, and the fact of their spread demonstrates that the society has, as it were, lost its instinct for self-preservation. This is a dangerous phenomenon, owing to not only moral but also social and national considerations. It is accompanied by other disturbing trends: apathy and indifference to anything other than feathering one's own nest. It can be said that the feeling of personal dignity in people has grown weaker, that they have reached a state of resignation close to enslavement. At the same time, though, many individuals become increasingly aware of these perils and strive to counteract them. This awakens the hope that we shall after all climb out of this morass and again begin to live, think, and act. The material conditions in this country are very bad, and the condition of the economy does not promise a rapid change in the situation. This is compounded by perils ensuing from environmental devastation, especially here, in Silesia and the Coal Basin. Little is being done to change the existing situation, although -- and this must be admitted -- it is at least possible to speak and write of it, and this in itself is not little.

The condition of our society is thus not good. It exists in a mood of impotence, not only owing to the economic crisis. However, it has not lost its faith in the meaning of further strivings and efforts to rescue both itself and its country. We also have learned to appreciate such virtues and values as patience and waiting. I personally am convinced that it is not by force but precisely by patience and human solidarity that tremendous accomplishments can be made, seemingly insurmountable barriers demolished, and the seemingly perpetuated evil overcome. This we learn from historical experience and faith. The Pope encourages all, and not only us in this country, toward precisely this mode of action.

Thus, I will come to the meeting with the Pope in the belief that this time, too, it will benefit me a lot -- as a Catholic and as a Pole. I am convinced that my meeting -- of course, not a personal one -- with the Pope will enable me to continue on the path I have taken and which seems to me the only right path in the times we live in and in the situation we have found ourselves in.

'Examination of Conscience' Called For

Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish No 22, 31 May 87 p 8

[Article by Andrzej Wielowieyski: "Marginally Speaking"]

[Text] What do we expect of the Third Pilgrimage of the Holy Father to this country? Or perhaps the question should rather be: "What does He expect of us?" For there must be some great misunderstanding about the widely held belief that it is He who will console us, fortify our hearts, and point out the road, and also on the occasion make our Eucharist Congress a still more meaningful event. I fear that the world, the dozens of countries which John Paul has visited and will visit, understands better and more deeply the meaning and purpose of His pilgrimages than does Poland. First, his arrival and meetings with people represent great meetings between nations and local churches, on the one hand, and the Universal Church with its mission of uniting people and changing and sanctifying the world, on the other. Second, these his travels provide a stimulus and a form for a great examination of conscience within the country's Church, for a deeper understanding of one's own fate, one's own values, opportunities, sins, and tasks. In various countries, for example, prior to the Pope's pilgrimages, thousands of especially prepared laymen take part in an intensive drive to inform their communities, families, and workplaces about the Pope, his teachings, the mission of the Church, and the problems of the local Church. And what have we to say to the Universal Church personified by the Pope? What have we to propose and offer? And are we ready with an examination of our conscience? What are the balance sheets of our work and struggle, of our lives, even if only in these last 4 years? Do they show much good, or does evil dominate them? In 1979 and 1983 the Pope had left us important and difficult tasks of shaping our Christian maturity (on Blonie Commons), watching over and protecting the heritage of generations as a condition of freedom (address to youth in Czestochowa), and evangelizing and changing the work environment as well as creating a moral order therein (at Piekary and Mistrzejowice). In addition, he imposed on the church in Poland tasks of protecting national culture, satisfying the need for truth awakened in Poland, and, above all, pursuing pastoral and Apostolic activities in behalf of working people (addresses to the Episcopate). We undertook these tasks, but have we justified the hopes placed in us? These are hard and perhaps also painful questions, but we must ask them of ourselves. We have the right to expect his aid. The Pope exists and is coming to us in order to strengthen our faith in God and in the fundamental human values. But he will not act as our substitute in anything that matters. He had accepted the sacrament of our confirmation us on Krakow Commons so that we would confront history on our own. He had awakened in us pride and a feeling of national and Christian dignity; later still, he awakened in us hope and the strength of moral victory. But now the time comes to render our accounts. How else could we continue to implement his behests?

May the lovely and, God willing, happy meetings with Him that await us not become to us merely an occasion for joyous festivities, for a soporific common euphoria, because we are capable of something more. And were we not capable of it, then the derisive opinion uttered in a nightclub, above props depicting the Tatra Mountains in the direction of the land extending northward, "This is a country which could not cope with itself," would prove true.

#### Effects of Pope's Visit, Words

Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish No 23-24, 7-14 Jun 87 p 4



[Article by Jonasz: "Before the Third Acceleration"]

[Text] I owe the above title to my learned fellow journalist who writes the "Marginally Speaking" column, Andrzej Wielowieyski. This was how he titled one of his books, and the topic of my column is, of course, the Third Pilgrimage.

The Pope has asked France what it had done with its conversion to Christianity. Poland also could be asked this question, but a more topical and original question would be: what have we done with the sacrament of our confirmation represented by the two previous pilgrimages? What were their social and moral consequences, and to what extent have they affected the Nation's spiritual life? These questions were asked by WIEZ of the editors-in-chief of the Catholic press, and I am asking them of myself as well.

I think that many people would answer tersely and pithily: there were no consequences and nothing has changed: we drink and smoke, we kill unborn fetuses, we fornicate, steal, and cheat, just as before. As of yore, we prefer alien idols to what was revealed to us by Christ and what was spoken about by the Pope. John Paul II had moved us to tears and improved our national wellbeing, satisfied the need for listening to truth in public, but that was all.

But was that really all? After all, a rather common saying is that June [1979] was the preparation for August [1980, the rise of Solidarity], because the First Pilgrimage had somehow straightened our backs and made of us more conscious and responsible citizens. As for statistics, it points to still another change: I refer to the growth in the number of priestly candidates. There is no question either that November 1978 [the Pope's election], followed by the first two Junes [1979, 1983 -- dates of the Pope's previous visits to Poland] brought many people close to the Church. Of course, one may ask to what extent does this civic reawakening signify a growth in the feeling of civic responsibility and to what extent in political ambitions. Still, in one way or another, an essentially positive change has definitely occurred. Similarly, one may ask whether that growth in the numbers of candidates for priesthood might not often mean a decline in their quality, whether, in accordance with the law of dialectics, in this case might not quantity equal mediocrity? One could also cast aspersions on these religious conversions by questioning their genuineness. A caveat: let us not, out of dread of a naive optimism, fall into the trap of gloom and doom, of a skepticism so obstinate as to resemble dogmatism.

And in general I think that huge but shortlasting events of this kind only accelerate certain processes which are occurring "spontaneously." The Pope's words are falling on prepared soil that has already been turned up by the plow of history. Thus, June has accelerated the approach of August, and that phenomenon, the Pope-Pole, has accelerated the already arisen anti-secularization processes. Is it always and only that positive processes get accelerated? It has also been pointed out that November [1978] and its consequences have prompted a growth in moods of triumphal smugness and arrogance.... In the name of truth, this should not be glossed over, but it would be absurd to claim that the teachings of John Paul II provide the foundations for such attitudes. On the contrary, he teaches humility and hence also is open to others, whether they be other Christians or other Slavs, our neighbors or people from other continents. May the Third Pilgrimage hasten our maturation toward such universalism.

## CATHOLIC WEEKLY COVERS PAPAL VISIT

## Newsprint Supply Correction

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 24, 14 Jun 87 p 1

[Unattributed and untitled items]

[Text] From Sejm speech by Ryszard Bender: "Mr. Minister Miskiewicz! This was not done even in the gloomy Bierut-Stalinist times! Sure, areas of study had been excised from the curriculum at the Catholic University of Lublin, but academic degrees were not voided, especially not retrogressively. Now suddenly this has changed. What does all this mean, especially now, before the visit of the Holy Father John Paul II?" (in his reply the deputy minister of higher education attempted to explain, unfortunately unconvincingly, the issue of diplomas and professorships at the Catholic University of Lublin). Next, Deputy Bender answered, "This Chamber, in which so many professors are seated, can not but acknowledge the resolution of the Senate of Warsaw University defending the group of professors discredited by the Government Press Spokesman.... The atmosphere of fear so memorably associated with the era of suspicion, with the period of the absurd theory of the exacerbating class struggle, cannot be restored." From the reply by the Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban: "I regard the accusation that I engage in inquisitorial activities as an unjustified and insulting one." The Government Spokesman Minister Jerzy Urban declared at a press conference (quoted from the stenographic record published by RZECZPOSPOLITA): Znak Press will be allocated an extra supply of newsprint on the occasion of the Pope's visit -- 700 tons, of which 200 tons for periodicals published by Znak. This is an obvious untruth, of which the Government Press Spokesman should be aware. That 700 tons is equal to the entire allotment of newsprint for all Catholic publications and periodicals in Poland. The "Znak" Publishing House received 25 tons of that amount, and TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY 15 tons (which served to double the size and run of its two successive issues). If Minister Urban continues to insist on his figures, we request that the Office of the Government Press Spokesman transmit to us the balance of 660 tons of newsprint.

## Cost Disclosure Provokes Response

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 25, 21 Jun 87 p 11

[Article by Piotr Wierzbicki: "How Much?"]

[Text] At his press conference in Warsaw Minister Jerzy Urban reported on the anticipated spending by the state on the Pope's visit. Six or seven billion zlotys was mentioned, on stressing that this could be even more. Minister Urban declared that traditional Polish hospitality rather inclined him not to mention this expenditure, but he had to mention it because this is so required by the principle of openness of information which obligates him above anything else. Reporting this information is also indicated, according to Minister Urban, in order not to create the erroneous impression that the government does not count its money when making expenditures.

Minister Urban's comment on the billions being spent on the Pope did not produce the best impression in Poland. Poles value openness, and thrift and efficiency as well, but they do not quite understand why the principle of publicity about spending, which is not applied to other costly international, domestic, and local projects, was applied precisely to this visit. Each year some five to 15 major conventions and congresses are held in Poland. It would be unfair to claim that they all should not be held. But since the Government Press Spokesman is obligated by the principle of openness, and since he must counter the impression that the government is not counting money, we all should know how much these congresses are costing us. Yet, no one can recall any instance in which Minister Urban has ever satisfied our curiosity in that respect. Yet also, we would certainly like to know, for example, how much did the international congress of intellectuals held in Warsaw 2 years ago cost us. For several days the word "peace," "peace," "peace" was repeated at that congress in return for [United States] dollars which could have been used to acquire disposable syringes which are not being imported owing precisely to the lack of these dollars. Thus, as Minister Urban can see, love of openness is a trait of not only the Government Press Spokesman but also ordinary bread-eaters. But why bother about international congresses. Recently I and my family happened to be near Nowy Sac where just then the annual all-Poland convention of voivodes and "agricultural aktiv" was being organized. Eight hundred people! And a gigantic banquet. Just then that banquet was being prepared. We have nothing against that banquet. The idea that the "agricultural aktiv" feed upon the remains of the harvest prior to speechifying derives of a certainty from traditional Polish hospitality. All we want to know is how much it did cost.

But Minister Urban is silent about it. It may be that previously no one has asked him about it. In this event let me here and now ask him what was the cost, last year, and also in the preceding years, of the congresses, conventions, celebrations, banquets, and visits organized in Poland with Polish funds. Let me emphasize it again that I do not claim that all this was unnecessary; I recognize political, protocol, representational, and other necessities. I do not want to take anything away from prime ministers, party secretaries, and ministers. I am no anarchist and I understand that the state

together with its entire bureaucratic machinery must function. All I want to know is, how much?

Minister Urban has greatly aroused our curiosity.

#### Turowicz Anticipates Effects

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 24, 14 Jun 87 p 1

[Article by Jerzy Turowicz: "8 June, 1045 Hours"]

[Text] Whit Monday and at the same time the holiday of the Most Sacred Virgin Mary, Mother of the Church. A moment ago John Paul, who had only yesterday inaugurated the Marian Year in Rome, descended the ramp from the green-white Alitalia aircraft, kissed Polish soil for the third time since he had become Pope, greeted the highest representatives of state and church authorities, bowed to the flag of the honor guard and now, standing on the pavement of Okecie Airport, he is delivering his greeting address in reply to the speeches by the Chairman of the Council of State and the Primate of Poland.

Foreign observers as well as our compatriots have often been asking what should be expected of this third pilgrimage of John Paul to his Fatherland and what could be its fruits.

In the words of John Paul, which were broadcast by radio and television from Okecie Airport to the entire country, we find a preliminary answer to these questions. John Paul II who, fulfilling St. Peter's behest, travels throughout the world to strengthen brothers in faith, is also coming to our country with that behest. We all, while we are believers, need greatly to be strengthened in faith. The rationale for the pastoral visit by John Paul II is the National Eucharist Congress. The Eucharist, the Pope said, is a highly meaningful sacrament. Because Christ "does not cease to restore meaning to careworn, lost man who suffers, who feels that life is meaningless." The Eucharist also "helps renew faith in just ideals, in the will to live, in hope."

Restoring the feeling of the meaningfulness of our existence, renewing our hopes, is precisely the message that we have been awaiting without being quite aware of it.

But John Paul II, who, while being the Supreme Pontiff of the Universal Church and the Head of State of the Vatican, remains a Pole and has the right to consider himself a Pole, is perfectly aware of what we need. He confirms yet again that Polish soil is "inhabited by the nation which is my nation, by people who are the offshoots of the same historical tree from which I was fated to spring." John Paul II knows well that nowadays our life is not easy. He says that our land is "difficult and experienced," that His fellow countrymen know "the joy and bitterness of living on this land."

We are quite aware that the week of the wanderings of John Paul II in Polish land will not change our social, political, or economic situation. It might seem that, once that week of joy and deep emotions passes, the Pope will return to the Vatican and everything will be just as before. No, it will not.

The most important change will be the one taking place in us. The message brought by John Paul II will strengthen us in faith, restore to us a feeling of meaningfulness, and renew lost hope. It will recall before our eyes the millenium-long heritage of our Christian culture and strengthen the awareness of our national identity as Poles, as Christians. And lastly it will summon us all toward solidarity, inviting us "to that community which Christ has been cultivating for generations." John Paul II summons us when he says that he desires to expand his heart as much as he can in order to encompass all the people living in his fatherland with a new rapture of unifying love.

But in answer to the message proclaimed by John Paul II, perhaps we should ask what is the Holy Father expecting of us, what does he have the right to expect of us? Perhaps, above all, that we, faithful to this message, should subordinate our personal lives and interpersonal relations to it, that we should attempt to accomplish the necessary inward change in ourselves, that the restored feeling of meaningfulness and renewed hope would help us, even under the most unfavorable circumstances, to shape the life of the national community that is the offshoot of the same tree of history as John Paul II?

#### Pope's Call to Action Viewed

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 25, 21 Jun 87 p 1

[Article by Maciej Zieba, OP: "This Message is so Difficult"]

[Text] The most difficult pilgrimage? I am not convinced. Was the first pilgrimage easy? Was the second easier than the first? This third is, however, different. Because He is different. During His first pilgrimage he awakened us from sleep and during his second, consoled us. Now He wants, He demands, much more. Perhaps He has perceived that we are more mature? Much points to this. But much also seems to ivndicate that the Pope fears that we are slowly exchanging this maturity, achieved with such strain in recent years, for inertia and apathy. His addresses often contain an accusatory tone which, combined with His numerous references to history and literature, sounds as it were like an echo of Young Poland [the 1900-1918 period in Polish art and literature, also termed the Neoromantic or Modernist Period, during which impressionism and symbolism were enlisted in the striving to develop indigenous Polish arts and attain national independence]: "I hear nothing, I hear nothing, only that music; are they are slumbering?" [a reference to simple Polish peasants who ignore the summons to awaken and strive for national independence, in Wyspianski's "The Wedding"].

This time, Anno Domini 1987, the Pope is chastising us and making demands on us. What do ye fear, ye of little faith? Fear not. He desires to awaken priests and laymen, workers, youth, families, peasants, and artists from their inertia. Those who are in power or have some authority, including the Church as well, he warns against complacency, against the belief that since the past had been worse the future will somehow be better of itself. As for the others, he admonishes them against resignation and passivity.

This time the Pope is making demands. He demands courage, and even heroism. He demands imagination, broad horizons, and perhaps even dynamism. He demands

love and a reexamination of nearly every dimension of our life. This message is so difficult.

He poses demands, most often specifically addressed and precisely formulated, to all: to priests, scholars, nuns, students, persons in power, workers, peasants, children, and families. The Pope's expectations of the Church are particularly great. He demands of it a radical renewal of Christianity and a still deeper immersion in the Eucharist, which has the power of changing Polish homes, factories, schools, vicarages, farmsteads, and offices. He, this Pope, also expects changes in the queues in front of our stores, nurseries and hospital wards; he expects of us that we shall attack with a new wisdom and might fundamental social problems, problems of the Church, and problems of Polish culture and economy.

Stop bowing to circumstances and pointing to history and geography; stop justifying yourselves and beating your breasts -- this is what the Pope tells us in every one of his sermons -- accept responsibility for yourselves, for your families, your workplaces, your country, and your Church. To the Pope the principal problem remains the widespread feeling of apathy and impotence, of their "not willing to want" [another reference to the apathetic peasants in Wyspianski's "The Wedding"]. Their...?

I do not know whether this pilgrimage is more difficult to John Paul II than the previous ones. But of a certainty it is much more difficult to us.

Doubt, Apathy Hoped to End

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 25, 21 Jun 87 p 12

[Article by Andrzej Romanowski: "Lux in Tenebris"]

[Text] I recall the conversations of barely a week ago. I recall the apprehensions then quite commonly voiced. I recall the feeling of exhaustion and apathy which did not recede (I am ashamed to admit) even at the moment when the Figure in White was seen.

Little faith? What were we doubting? Was not it He who, on bidding us farewell after his First Pilgrimage, asked us "never to doubt, never to tire, and never be discouraged... [and] to have confidence even despite personal weaknesses"? But only now have the scales fallen from our eyes and we realize with astonishment how much we had been impatient, distrustful, angry, and suspicious, and alternately demanding too much or sinking into depression. How much we have sinned... How much we have shammed our loyalty to Jesus considering that in our daily lives we denied the very core of His teachings, that "I hope against hope" [contra spem spero] enunciated by St. Paul.

So now we perceive what we had not perceived even when he, in a familiar gesture, kissed the soil of his fathers. Now finally we understand the real meaning of Christ-like love: love till the end. Because, speaking in human terms, we had to be shamed by the sad question, "Why didst thou doubt?" This precisely was the question asked by Jesus of Peter, a weak man. But Peter's successor could not and certainly did not want to address thus the multitudes,

which of a certainty contain more than 10 just and faithful men. That is why he, the Holy Father, spoke simply like a father to his children, with a moving delicacy, "To a Christian there are no hopeless situations...." Yes, that is right. But how could we have forgotten this?

But he did not forget about us and embraced us with the feeling of all-encompassing love. The love of a great idea or the love of the community is so often delusive and entails worship of an abstraction at the expense of the individual. But the love of that Ploughman and Sower who has just crossed Polish land and blessed it encompassed both all of us and each of us in particular. There is nothing more expressive than his voice, half-jocular and half-tremulous with emotion, responding to the sight of that Gdynia "monstrance for candies" [colorful throng] .... So then, how could we ever have doubted, inasmuch as he has been already for so many years demonstrating by his every word and gesture how greatly he loves us? Were we unaware that a good shepherd never abandons both the entire flock and even a single ewe?

"Let Thy Spirit descend and renew the face of the land!" Now, too, like 8 years ago, these words were uttered during the Papal pilgrimage. Verily: the face of this land has already been renewed. Nowadays we look around and, astonished, perceive that we live in a changed world: our entire surroundings are different, and we too already are different. How amazing is the might of the word, since the word, and the word alone, has accomplished this surprising transformation. The word, till now so mercilessly devalued and degraded, to which only St. Peter's successor succeeded in restoring, yet again, its precious radiance and holiness, in speech that, as with Jesus, meant yes when it said yes and no when it said no. This is like the sound of Joshua's trumpets which caused the walls of Jericho to collapse. With what power of the human spirit we have only recently been communing.

Therefore, let us pray today after the Psalmist and the Poet that the Lord may give strength to His people. That we may never again doubt and tire and feel discouraged. That our faith be so strong as to truly cause walls to collapse and mountains to move. That we may remain till the end faithful to Christ's message, since it is impossible to serve both God and Mammon. And that we may have Christian confidence and hope, because, behold, a light is shining in the darkness, and the darkness has not extinguished it.

#### Gdansk Visit Described

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 25, 21 Jun 87 p 12

[Article by Tadeusz Szyma: "About Us and for Us" under the rubric "Gdansk"]

[Text] Zaspá. The gray surfaces of monotonous elevations suddenly blossom in festive colors, in a thousand of distinguishing details, among which pictures, photographs, posters, lamps, banners, flags, and flowers attract attention. Welcoming slogans painted on banners that in some cases are as long and broad as a building. Even the windowless and alley-side walls of buildings bloom with colors. Attached to one apartment building is a banner with an entire litany of citations from "Laborem exercens" concerning labor, or with moving

appeals such as, "Bless the Gdansk Shipyard Workers," "We Are Prepared -- Do Not Let Us Doubt," "Save Thy People."

Even greater effort was invested by the denizens of Gdansk in building the Papal altar. It was built after the design by Marian Kolodziej, a theatrical designer from the Coastal Theatre. This entire huge job was done through civic effort. The Gdansk altar on Zaspa was built in the shape of a medieval ship of the Baltic Kogga type, but in a half-finished form that is still under construction so that only its prow and its lofty masts loom above the wooden scaffolding of the ship. Its name, St. Peter, and "a carved figure of the First Apostle on the prow" as well as a "Captain's Bridge" for the Pope, symbolized the Church, which has never been and never will be something finished and built once and for all. As known, the Church resembles such a strange ship which, sailing on troubled waters, is constantly renovated and enlarged.

This ship sailed on a warm Friday afternoon above a sea of people. Some estimates put the size of the crowd gathered on Zaspa at as much as 2 million. Only those standing in the vicinity could encompass with their eyes the details of the shiplike structure. But even from afar the crowd could perceive the bright concave rectangle of the sail, the glitter, in the sunshine, of the three white crosses crowning the masts, and the flutter of the long white-red and white-yellow pennants, which created the illusion that the ship was moving.

When the admission tickets to discrete parts of the viewing area were distributed, everyone was given a kerchief or ribbon of a corresponding color -- white, red, yellow, or blue. When all these kerchiefs and ribbons are waved to greet the Pope, a gay medley of colors will arise.

For the time being, however, we are waiting. We had arrived here by bus from the Press Center, located in the House of the Technician, in the neighborhood of the Heweliusz Hotel. From there it was a short distance to the Gdansk Crosses [erected to commemorate the massacre of Gdansk shipyard workers in 1970] where the Pope was to stop over en route back to the episcopal residence in Oliwa after meeting with patients and health personnel in the Basilica of the Virgin. I was not the only one to dream of reaching the Memorial to the Fallen Shipyard Workers at the time, but this proved impossible.

It is 1430 hours. The day is sunny and warm. The loudspeakers broadcast communiques and instructions for keeping order, whose adherence is monitored by church volunteers wearing fourrageres with the inscription: *Gedania semper fidelis, Gdansk semper fidelis*. But generally the best order is kept everywhere. People are amiable and courteous to each other and keep chanting ever new songs and prayers. From the altar resound the words of a national litany till now unfamiliar to me: "O Lord, have compassion for Poland, our Fatherland.... Forgive, o Lord, the faults of our people...." The number of banners, flags, and pennants brought to the Square is growing. The inscriptions they bear compose together a spirit-strengthening picture of Polish solidarity: "Warsaw Is With You," "Krakow Is With You," Wroclaw, Lublin, Konin, Elblag, Kielce, even Bochnia.... It is impossible to count all those unfolded and mostly red-and-white cloths -- they are in the hundreds.



The attention of the entire Press sector is suddenly attracted by a fascinating event: communications with distant sections of the Square are being tested. The sectors H, G, J, called out in succession by priests, respond by rhythmically waving colorful scarves; the various sectors of the crowded Square begin successively to pulsate with red, with white, then with yellow, and with blue. This operation coincides with the arrival of the reverend bishops on Zaspka, where they are cordially welcomed.

It is ten minutes after three and only now a deafening noise explodes. The shouts, "Long Live the Pope!" heard from a great distance, become the catalyst for a general deafening outburst. The Popemobile passes in between the sectors, advancing in the direction of the altar-ship. Since I am seated next to the area reserved for Polish Television, I glance at the monitor screen. However, it does not show what is happening in the Square; instead, it shows the Gdansk Neptune, the call signal of the local channel.

The applause for the smiling Pope in his golden vestments, by then standing high up on the altar, took a long time to stop. The Gdansk Ordinary, Bishop Tadeusz Gocłowski, greeted the Holy Father solemnly and handsomely in behalf of the working people of the entire Poland. In addition, he announced the coming construction by the Coast's community of the House for Abandoned Mothers and of the Pastoral Center for Protecting the Lives of the Unborn, as permanent memorials to today's festivity. When the mass begins to be celebrated, the flags and banners disappear. The liturgy on Zaspka is framed splendidly. The combined church choirs of the Gdansk and Chelmo dioceses, as well as combined academic choirs, positioned on a high podium to a side of the altar begin to sing. To the right of the Papal throne, which is placed against a sail, one can see the silver-coated small painting of the Holy Mother from the Gdansk Elevation, which is awaiting its coronation. That coronation will be performed by the Pope after he delivers his homily which will move deeply all those present. The multifaceted catechesis by the Holy Father is based on Eucharist reflections and refers to readings, during the mass, from the Book of Genesis, on the creation of man and woman, and from Paul's Epistle to the Galatians -- "You are bearing each other's confirmation of the sacrament...." This catechesis, which also comments on the words of the Gospel According to St. Matthew about the good tender of vineyard, was largely devoted to problems of labor and human solidarity. Applause resounded repeatedly in sign of the throng's agreement with the Pope during his speech. And when that applause finally turned into an incessant ovation, and his jocular admonition against losing the meaning of his address did not help to stop that ovation, John Paul II said something that completely disarmed the listeners. He said that, in speaking to them, he was precisely speaking to them and at the same time speaking on their behalf. Dotting the "i" is sometimes necessary and desired, as demonstrated abundantly by the prolonged manifestation of gratitude to the Pope for his homily, which forced him to make another jocular remark, namely, that the foreign visitors present might regard the traditional "Sto lat" ["May you live to a hundred"] as part of the liturgy.

Following the coronation of the painting of the Holy Virgin of Trabki Wielkie, and after the strikingly impressive collective confession of faith, a procession with gifts approached the Pope. After the prayers-intentions were said, to which the Pope listened with his hands covering his face, the time

came for moments of direct contact with the gift-bearing representatives of various occupations and professions, various communities, and also representatives of the Polonia of the former Free City of Gdansk, Greek Catholics, and Polish Armenians. The latter brought a copy of the painting of Holy Virgin the Merciful from the Cathedral in Stanislawow. The gift from war veterans was interesting: a tome on the history of Gdansk together with a dossier of documents. Miners from Legnica offered to the Pope a unique artistic glass bearing the poetic name "The Winged Heart," and scouts offered him a stole. It is impossible to enumerate all the gifts.

Among the cocolebrants of the Papal mass on Zaspa I succeeded in recognizing the Primate of Poland, the Metropolitan of Krakow, and the Gdansk Ordinary. Not only I but all the others who stood near the altar sailing into the sky had not the least trouble in recognizing Lech Walesa and his wife Danuta among the 100 persons, clergy and laymen, receiving the Holy Communion from the hands of the Pope himself.

Following the mass, John Paul II again moved to the forefront of the altar, to the site which he himself had termed the Captain's Bridge, in order to thank God and the people for everything he had experienced here. He tried not to forget anyone and anyone's merits. And later he turned again toward the entire Eucharist community assembled on Zaspa, declaring, among other things, "Above all, I thank you for your presence and for what it testifies to. I have attempted in my utterances to speak of you and to speak for you. For it is my deep conviction that what had originated here, in Gdansk, on the Coast, and in other work communities throughout Poland, is of great significance to the future of labor, and not just in our Land but everywhere.... Each day I pray for you there in Rome and wherever else I happen to be. Each day I pray for my Fatherland, and I pray for working people, and I pray for that special great legacy of the Polish solidarity. I pray for the people who are linked to that legacy, and I pray especially for those who had to, or have to, suffer for it. And I shall not cease to pray, because I know that this is a great cause.... I beg you to show equal solidarity with the Pope in this prayer and in these long-range intentions. One has to think of the future! One has to think of the future and preserve his spiritual and physical strength for the future. May the Lord reward you and bless you! Praised be Jesus Christ!"

There was no end to enthusiasm and transports, even when the Pope left his lovely ship in order to board a helicopter. Various songs were chanted and farewell fanfares sounded; this culminated with the signing of "O God, who preservest Poland." It was then also that I succeeded in reaching the altar and, from its height encompassing with my eyes the great multitude of pilgrims dispersing slowly in various directions. [-----][Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Point 6, Article 2 (DZ.U., Item 99, No 20; revised in DZ.U., Item 204, No 44, 1983)] [i.e., censored passage].

It was only the next day, at noon, that I was able to come to the Gdansk Crosses. Next to a beautiful bouquet of white calla lilies and yellow rose, someone placed a paper on which was written, "Flowers from the Holy Father." A great many ordinary people were present. Many of them leaned over the vase and respectfully kissed the delicate petals.

## Lodz Factory Visit

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 25, 21 Jun 87 p 9

[Article by Jacek Rakowiecki: "Lodz Wants To Belong to St. Peter"]

[Text] Facts

Lodz has a population of 846,000, and its density reaches 1,756 persons per square kilometer in the downtown area [as published], that is, seven times above the national average. The air above this center of the textile and garment industry, and also of the chemical and electrical-machinery industry, has been found to contain so far more than 60 noxious chemicals. The air quality index in the downtown area is three and one-half times above the permissible limit, and the street noise reaches 70 decibels. The surface area of greenery there is only one-half of the ecological minimum. The rise in mortality rate is chiefly due to circulatory diseases (chiefly ischemia, cancer (chiefly of the respiratory tract, the stomach, and the biliary duct, and lastly other diseases of the respiratory tract. The infant mortality rate here is the highest in Poland (21.9 promille) and the natural population increase, female fertility, and coefficient of live birth the lowest; 35 of every 100 working women of childbearing age suffer of anemia.

Women account for precisely 55 percent of the working population of Lodz. In the textile industry they account for 70 percent. Of these, two-thirds have chronic diseases linked to difficult working conditions such as night-shift work (28.4 percent of female textile-industry workers), noise (more than 90 decibels), heat, dampness, and vibrations. The textile machinery pool consists 16 percent of the 1897-1910 vintage from the period of "The Promised Land" [when Lodz first began to arise as Poland's textile center and a source of new jobs]. In the existing factories there are only 1,000 protected work stations for pregnant women -- a number that has not increased since 1981.

The total number of registered alcoholics is 30,000, of whom about 20-25 percent are women. The average wage in industry is 14 percent below the national average. Twenty-five percent of the increase in wages is linked to working overtime hours and 43 percent, to working on Saturdays off. Also below the national average is the employment in the service sector, including retail trade. On the other hand, the underinvestment in cultural services lies within the national average.

For every 10,000 of the 1,590,000 faithful within the Lodz Diocese established in 1920, there are on the average only 3 priests. For each of the 37 churches and chapels of Lodz there are as many as 20,000 faithful.

Observations

The city is decorated very modestly. Larger banners and symbols of the Eucharist Congress can be seen only along the route of the Popemobile. There are few decorations on windows, although in Lodz it is difficult to guess the purpose of buildings. Tenements, factories, and office buildings in this city often look alike. It is precisely in factories that, aside from diffident

symbolic decorations hanging on the dirty windows of factory buildings, there is nothing to be seen that would indicate that the Holy Father is coming to Lodz primarily in order to be with the workers. The MARCO Cotton Works adjacent to the UNIONTEX Plant lack any decorations, and so do shop windows. On the other hand, the entire city is awash in posters and flags hailing the "Interfashion" International Textile and Garment Fair inaugurated on 16 June.

The denizens of Lodz with whom I talked prior to the arrival of the Holy Father speak of a "dormant Catholicism."

Their hopes are focused on the expectation that the Lodz Branch of the Eucharist Congress will provide "a strong impetus and point the direction of actions" to the local Church. Yes, precisely as inscribed on two banners hanging on Piotrkowska Street: "Christ Summons Toward Truth," and "Christ Summons Toward Justice."

The services organized for reporters here also merit description. Our accreditations assure us, properly speaking, only of admission to the Press Center. That Center provides only, and always at the very last moment, copies of the Papal homilies and welcoming addresses. As for finding out about changes in the schedule of activities and specific or controversial information, the reporter has to rely on his own resources, guesses, and assumptions. The Center's television screens show nothing other than can be seen in any private dwelling. Contrary to the announcements, it does not show pictures from the UNIONTEX. Also contrary to the announcements, during the Papal mass at Lublinek Airport the press sector was located at a great distance from the altar. The loudspeakers performed poorly. And lastly, under the threat that otherwise they would get stuck in Lublinek, reporters were escorted outside even before the end of the ceremonies and spent half an hour near buses, waiting for their militia escort.

#### Lublinek

On 13 June, before 1000 hours, seven heavy helicopters landed on the Lublinek Aeroclub Airport of Lodz. Each was warmly applauded, as the waiting throng did not yet know which one carried the Holy Father. A crowd of about 500,000 of the faithful -- smaller than expected -- waited for Him while standing in an area of 45 hectares. Many were detained in the city by groundless warnings that, once they arrived at Lublinek, they would not be able to return in time near the Cathedral and UNIONTEX. There were few flags and banners, too, but, what was not surprising, they proclaimed, "This Lodz is St. Peter's," "We Welcome Joyfully the Pope, a Wanderer Searching for a Lost Sheep," "Youth with the Pope," "In Solidarity Only With You," "Bring Up in Truth and Love." Some disappeared rapidly.

Following the Vatican Hymn, the Holy Father traveled past the crowd in his Popemobile and, among shouts of "Long Live the Pope" and "We Love the Pope," proceeded toward the altar, a construction of impressive (22 meters tall) though simple design. In the background, in the horizon, three ceaselessly smoke-belching huge factory smokestacks could be clearly seen.

In his welcoming address the Reverend Bishop Wladyslaw Ziolk, the Ordinary of Lodz, spoke of the "deep gratitude for including in the route of the pilgrimage... our textile and university city which henceforth will proudly dare to call itself St. Peter's Lodz!" John Paul II expressed his thanks for the welcome and announced the names of those with whom he would co-celebrate the mass. The Vatican and Polish cardinals and the Jesuit Father Stefan Miecznikowski, a Lodz priest of particularly great merit, industrious and courageous, who were mentioned on this occasion, received ardent applause.

In his homily the Holy Father addressed chiefly children. In simple and convincing terms, he explained to them the meaning of the Communion, departing repeatedly from his prepared text and adorning it with examples and anecdotes. He declared, "Perhaps you may be wondering whether the Pope is always being catechized... like children! Yes..., the Pope is not only the Church's first catechete but also a catechized one!" Further, the Holy Father, pointing to models of Christian life, talked about Father Maksimilian Kolbe, the blessed Urszula Ledochowska, and God's servant Wanda Malczewska. These examples met with particularly strong response from the assembled faithful. A similar ovation was elicited by the Pope's greetings to the pilgrims from Czechoslovakia and the GDR attending the mass, greetings immediately repeated in their native languages.

During the mass 40 keystones for newly planned churches also were consecrated, and the establishment of two new parishes in Lodz was announced. The traditional solemn procession with gifts for the altar consisted of 12 delegations. The Communion children offered up chalice vestments designed for Catholic missions, as well as wafers of the Eucharist baked from ground grains of wheat gathered by First-Communion groups in the course of the last few months. Each grain symbolized one good deed by a child. Artists offered up "Bread," a Lodz painter's picture dedicated to "The Spiritual Leader of the Nation." Textile workers carried in front of the Papal throne a basket with fabrics draped so as to resemble factory chimneys. The gifts also included a painting of the Holy Virgin from Wykus near Suchedniow, the site of the AK [Home Army] detachment commanded by the famous "Ponury."

At a crucial moment during the mass the Holy Father and the cardinals bestowed the first Holy Communion on the children. Finally, once again deviating from the official program, the Pope asked to be photographed with the entire group of 1,000 children.

#### The Cathedral

At approximately 1600 hours the Holy Father leaves the Bishop's Palace and, in the presence of several score thousands of the faithful, proceeds to the nearby Lodz Cathedral of St. Stanislaus Kostka.

It contains many memorial tablets reflecting the faith and patriotism of the Lodzers: Sienkiewicz, Kosciuszko, the Home Army, the Scouts of 1914-1920, the Constitution of May 3, the return of the Vilna (Wilno) Region to the bosom of the Republic, Kilinski, Copernicus, priests murdered during World War II, a photograph of the Rev. Jerzy Popieluszko, and lastly the tablet honoring the recovery of Independence, "Lord, bless a free and united Poland," this last

being signed by a countless number of the then existing organizations, associations, guilds, societies, and groups.

There, the Holy Father meets with a group of about 2,500 representatives of the Lodz intelligentsia. The Bishop Ordinary delivers a brief welcoming address, whereupon the Holy Father turns to those present with an impromptu address: "I am speaking ex tempore... Outside the program... I may thus get into trouble with the organizers, of course, chiefly with the ecclesiastical side...." Thereupon John Paul II spoke of the admirable accomplishments of the Lodz intelligentsia, of the calling of the intellectual and the tasks facing him. Lastly, he spoke cordially of the Senior Bishop Jozef Rozwadowski and the late Bishop Michal Klepacz (history's third Lodz Ordinary) whose epitaph tablet, mounted in a wall of the Cathedral, he consecrates toward the end with the sign of the cross. By 17000 hours John Paul II leaves the Cathedral and proceeds in his Popemobile, through espaliers of the faithful, toward the UNIONTEX Lodz Cotton Industry Works Named After the Defenders of Peace.

#### UNIONTEX

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 6 (DZ. U., Item 99, No 20, revised in Dz. U., Item 204, No 44, 1983)] [I.e., passage censored]

The factory is decorated with white-and-red flags and inscriptions proclaiming a cordial welcome to the Pope-Pole and "Intercessor for Peace." In front of the main entrance, just outside the factory area, on the other hand, banners proclaiming "Work in Unity With the Creator" and "Work in Unity with Christ" were displayed.

I listened to the meeting while standing outside the factory, together with the crowd, on Milionowa Street, one of several streets among which the factory is located. That was because not one press reporter was allowed inside. At first, I heard from "my" loudspeaker (some official loudspeakers proved inoperative, but radio receivers placed outside the windows of the surrounding homes came to the aid of the thousands of people gathered outside the factory) the ovation of the workers assembled inside the factory, overwhelmingly women, "Long live the Holy Father," followed by a mighty voice of the crowd, "We want God in books and in the school..." and the ovations and singing were immediately taken up by the crowds gathered in the surrounding streets.

Welcoming John Paul II, the Director of the UNIONTEX Jozef Gregorczyk thanked him for the visit, considered the problem of the struggle for peace, and spoke of the factory as the "second home" of the women working in it. The next speaker, a female textile worker representing the workforce, also dealt with affairs of world peace, while at the same time expressing gratitude and thankfulness to the Holy Father and requesting a blessing for the employees and the fruits of their labor. The Holy Father was given presents: a medallion of the Center for the Health of the Polish Mother and a crystal goblet purchased by the management.

John Paul II in his speech concentrated on the problem of the work, calling, and dignity of woman.

The Holy Father ended by appealing, "Learn from.... Mary the truth about your dignity, your calling. So much depends on each one of you."

Following this speech the loudspeaker kept resounding for a while with the Pope's response to the ovations of the factory crowd. Tears swollen and dramatically intoned cries, "Holy Father, stay with us," could be heard, and once we heard "O God who preservest Poland....," the transmission was ended. But an additional 15 minutes passed before the Holy Father left the factory and proceeded to the nearby stadium where three helicopters were already waiting. At around 1830 hours he flew from Lodz to Warsaw.

However, the throng continued standing in front of the UNIONTEK for more than an half hour afterward, in the delusive hope that other helicopters then landing to pick up the remaining members of the Papal entourage were carrying "their Pope," the Holy Father, back to Lodz.

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## FORMERLY CENSORED AUTHOR ON WRITERS UNION, OTHER ISSUES

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Apr 87 p 5

[Interview with Bogdan Madej by Krzysztof Maslon: "Without Protective Camouflage"]

[Text] [Question] Until recently you were reputed to be an oppositionist writer.

[Answer] Oppositionist toward what? I can say that I remain an oppositionist writer. Oppositionist toward whatever lacks sense, regardless whether this concerns politics, the society, art, or customs and mores.

[Question] But your two most famous works were first printed in Paris.

[Answer] I had first offered "Piekne kanalie" [Lovely Scumbags] to the PIW [State Publishing House] in October 1970. In January 1971 the PIW voided the contract. I again offered my book in June. A year later "Piekne kanalie" was questioned as a whole.

I did not agree with that decision. I appealed it fruitlessly wherever I could. All my efforts, and not only mine because the then Director of the PIW Andrzej Wasilewski had supported me, came to nothing.

[Question] In effect, in February 1974 the book was printed in France, "without the author's knowledge and consent." There also was published your next book, the collection of short stories "Masc na szczury" [Rat Poison], which was 3 years ago made available to domestic readers.

[Answer] I did first offer that book too to the PIW, in January 1976. Even earlier some of these stories had been accepted for publication by various periodicals: LITERATURA, TWORCZOSC, and MIESIECZNIK LITERACKI. Only TWORCZOSC succeeded in publishing "The Burial." Following the events of 1976 the publication of "Rat Poison" by any domestic publishing house was hardly conceivable. Ultimately, the PIW too notified me officially that it was not going to publish my stories.

[Question] Now, however, Czytelnik Press is already preparing to print a new edition of "Rat Poison," and what is more, Polish Television has produced and



shown two films based on short stories from that collection ("Mr. W.," directed by Krzysztof Gruby with impressive acting by Roman Wilhelmi, and "The Leftward Course," directed by Pawel Unrug). What has changed?

[Answer] The view on many issues. Certain elements of the situation in which writers work and act. I doubt whether these short stories, which were published in Poland after 13 December 1981 [martial law] could have appeared before August [1980, rise of Solidarity].

[Question] Perhaps you enjoy special privileges? You participate in the work of the National Cultural Council and have attended a couple of meetings between the authorities and representatives of the artistic communities.

[Answer] My only privilege is having to spend more time on train travel than previously. As for the rest, I have always chosen to do what I think right rather than what I was advised to do, or advised against doing.

The National Cultural Council? It won't work any miracles; it is enough that it actually and actively does care for the preservation of the hierarchy of cultural values. One should do what makes sense and follow the principle, "primum non nocere." It also is important to preserve the proportions between sharp condemnation of negative occurrences and acting to improve the situation. In culture, too.

[Question] What about your new books? Following the publication of "Rat Poison" (which is going to be published in the GDR as well), interest in your work has grown.

[Answer] I am readying for Czytelnik Press a collection of short stories published in TWORCZOSC and LITERATURA: "Jews, Tatars, Others," "A Son of Fighting Europe," "After the War," "The Private Affair of Alfred Cunga" (recently published in TWORCZOSC), "The Great Battle of Babie Doly," and a couple of completely new stories. Television has bought film rights to "Jews" and "The Private Affair," and hence it can be expected that more films will be made. For reasons unknown to me, the anticipated filming of "Rat Poison" by the Lodz School of the Cinema and staging of "The Burial" by the Tarnow Theatre have not taken place.

[Question] Your recent tales take place in the 1940's and 1950's. Why are you going back to the times of your youth? Isn't this avoidance? It is surely easier for the authorities to accept for publication criticism of their predecessors rather than of themselves.

[Answer] So far I have already expressed so much bitterness and hurled so many accusations against the authorities as would suffice for more than one successive ruling team. I believe that the current ruling team will not make the mistakes that had previously so fatally affected our life.

Indeed, the setting of several of my tales is in Stalinist times, when I attended school, worked, and was in the army. But I am not turning back to that period in a factographic-photographic manner. I am not illustrating the 1950's. What I am trying to show --and I have the impression that this counts

nowadays, given the disorientation still persisting within certain social strata and milieux -- is how people had behaved in those times, what choices they faced.

[Question] You also write about ultimate choices, or rather about situations in which there is no choice. In your tale "After the War," which takes place in 1945, everyone dies: the Home Army guerrilla, the soldier escorting him, and the man who offers them a place to stay for the night. I happen to know that your writings contain quite a few autobiographical elements. Did you also witness scenes such as the one described in "After the War" in those years?

[Answer] Perhaps not exactly the same ones. I was born in Polesie Region. My family lived in Mikaszewicze and later in Grodno. In 1969 [as published, apparently meaning 1939] my father was conscripted. Later, he became interned in Romania, whence he returned to Poland, to Rzeszow Voivodship, where by then we had moved after crossing the Green Frontier [the frontier between "General Government" and the German-annexed areas of Poland]. I was eight when that happened.

[Question] Your postwar life was not easy and simple either. Before becoming a writer, you held various jobs and, judging from your writings, got to know life pretty well.

[Answer] I was not even 18 when I began working. I was a messenger for a private bookstore, a store salesman, a roadworker, and a worker in the Machine Shops of Stalowa Wola Iron and Steel Plant. I also worked as a factory supplier, a construction technician, and an insurance agent for the PZU [State Social Security]. In addition, I spent 3 years in the Navy, worked as a wage accountant in a cement plant, then in a small printing plant, and afterward as the director of a factory radio station.

[Question] You thus followed, as it were, the advice of Igor Newerly, who recommended to young writers to delay as long as possible becoming professional writers.

[Answer] For the first 10 years following the publication of my first book, "Młodzi dorosli ludzie" [Young Adults] I did not quit my salaried jobs. My last place of work was the Voivodship House of Culture in Lublin, in the city where I have settled for good.

[Question] Don't you have a "provincial complex"?

[Answer] As a writer? No, it is the failures who blame living in the provinces for their lack of success. But concerning your previous question, let me cite one of my favorite authors, Isaac Babel. In his "The Beginning" he describes how he was noticed by Maxim Gorki who read his writings and finally declared, "It's now clear that you, my worthy sir, know nothing.... Therefore, move on and start being among the people." For me it has been the other way around.

[Question] This knowledge of real life is practically mandatory in Soviet literature.

[Answer] Not just there -- in any good literature.

[Question] And it is less and less frequent in our literature. Why?

[Answer] To some of the young writers making their first steps it seems that theoretical knowledge of the rules of poetry, prose, and reporting is enough. They acquired their knowledge from [university] studies of Polonistics and not from real life. It is thus not surprising that their works are unauthentic, artificial, and deal with safe subjects and stereotypes. Such literature is devoid of sense.

[Question] What price is paid for engaging in political writing?

[Answer] What does it mean, being a political writer? Does this mean being an uncritical apologist for the measures of the authorities? I have never done so. Politics, as one of the elements of the reality in which we live, is of great interest to me. Treating the writing profession seriously, as I am trying to do, must entail readiness to pay personally the price for the issues with which an author is concerned. Are you talking of a kind of diplomatic immunity in literature? But that would be the threshold of opportunism.

[Question] The literary community is reputed to be especially politicized, as has been most obvious during the post-August [1980, rise of Solidarity] period. It is characteristic that just then you were hardly known and not published for about a couple of years.

[Answer] Let me say without sounding like a megalomaniac that my expressed views of the situation in the 1970's and of the contemporary social and political needs have been quite frank, if the contemporary lack of artistic freedoms is considered, and so have been my views on the country's situation and the nation's life. The rise of Solidarity did not mean to me greater freedom as a writer, since I already exercised that freedom on my own even earlier. Many people wondered, of course, why after August I did not speak from the podiums, but such is my inner constitution that I have never sang in a choir. I did not join Solidarity, but my attitude toward it was throughout that of a neutral wellwisher. During the post-August period I had listened, observed, and judged. After August quite a few had something to say about many things.

[Question] Certain writers, including well-known ones, have ceased to publish in the official publishing houses after 13 December 1981, whereas that was when you began to publish.

[Answer] I did that earlier. In March 1981 I had signed a contract with Czytelnik for publishing "Rat Poison." The press has been publishing my writings. Among other things, POLITYKA published an excerpt from "Mr. Wacław." And as for my presence as a writer after 13 December, "The Leftward Course" was published by TWORCZOSC in 1983 and Czytelnik did not cancel its plans to publish "Rat Poison." Should I have acted like an idiot and, after grousing for 2 years because I was not being published in Poland, refuse being published when this became possible? I have never written to order for anybody, and I shall not do so now either. But as for the martial law

declaration, I believe that my perception of its political background has been uniquely mine, and certainly different from the common perception. I am no Cato and, what is more important, in that connection, there was no Carthage to destroy.

[Question] Political divisions among writers still continue to be explicit. You yourself, too, are not a member of the Polish Writers' Union.

[Answer] I feel independent enough not to like having someone else make decisions for me. I also have the right to a certain ambivalence of feelings now that I am being cajoled to join the Writers' Union by the same people who had until 1980 resented my being a member. Besides, I heard too many arguments in favor of the material benefits of membership, and I have never liked arguments of this kind.

[Question] How do you view the future of the Polish Writers' Union? Actors, theatre folk, among whom also dissension had reigned for a long time, are now increasingly finding a common language, but writers still persist in looking askance at each other.

[Answer] I hope that in our case, too, extremely tactful and extremely patient efforts, by both the authorities and those directly concerned, to unify the writer community can be meaningful and bear fruit. If we don't do this, the young will do this for us. But I may be wrong.

[Question] Let's restore the proper proportions to this interview and discuss literature instead of the literati. A distinguishing feature of your writings is their focus on work. In "The Private Affair of Alfred Czug" work is practically identified with insanity. Your protagonists, factory suppliers, rush crazily along and across the country; dog-tired, they return to their mother plant, fall asleep for a couple of hours, and then go back on the road toward another corner of Poland. For what reason do they work so hard?

[Answer] People no longer remember this, but that was how we used to work in this country. The feeling of responsibility was palpable, and it ensued from teamwork action, from the individual's feeling that his personal sacrifices served a higher goal. One could be against Stalin, or against socialism, but not against building more housing. It was only in 1958, after my army service, that I had heard the subsequently so popular saying, "Standing or lying...." ["There is no use working diligently"]. That was a shock to me. I thought that saying to be extremely cynical, and I still think so.

[Question] But your protagonists most often lack an alternative. Outside work, there is no other road toward personal self-fulfillment for them.

[Answer] True, their existence is difficult but, please believe me, work is not the only thing that lets us all remain standing upright. Work is the only position worthy of man.

[Question] But, apart from a few exception, your protagonists are not beautiful, strong, or wise characters. On the contrary, the depiction of Polish society presented in, e.g., "Rat Poison" can be horrifying.

[Answer] You certainly are deliberately exaggerating. The entire present-day literature, and not only in Poland, mirrors negative traits of societies and individuals regardless of the country of a novel's setting. I am troubled by the condition of our Polish society. That is why I write about the severity of the disease, and about the diseases themselves, and don't flatter the patient like an incompetent physician who says that a cheek ulcer is nothing because the remainder of the body is okay. My concern is with alarming symptoms and not with normal health.

[Question] You don't spare anyone in your writings.

[Answer] Should I? My books are rooted in the diseases of the society, which deserves to be depicted justly, in good as well as in bad aspects. My opinion of my compatriots is not so bad as to think that I could be less demanding toward them.

But the society is not some mindless beast, and hence it bears the responsibility for its ailments, whether they are moral, consuetudinary, mental, or economic.

[Question] Do you believe that we shall ever get rid of these weaknesses?

[Answer] In our situation, dreams befit the young and work befits adults. I have three children. The oldest, Malgosia, is a seventh-grader. I tell her, "I can't make life a rose garden for you. You must attend to your future yourself. Even now. You must study so that you'll be indispensable in the career which you will choose for yourself." Only thus I can think optimistically of Poland's future, and only on this foundation I base my faith in the Polish society. It must attend to it itself. It must provide itself on its own with the necessary means of protection -- means of protection rather than protective camouflage.

1386

CSO: 2600/636

## COMMUNIST PARTY ROLE DISCUSSED, MEMBERSHIP STATISTICS GIVEN

Iasi CRONICA in Romanian No 19, 8 May 87 pp 1,2

[Article by Liviu Coptil, "The Growth of the Party's Leading Role--A Propelling Force in the Construction of Multilaterally Developed Socialism"]

[Text] The dialectics of socialist society and the complexity of the economic, political, social, cultural, internal and international objectives treated in the party documents and in the theoretical and practical works by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, give a legal basis to the continuously broadening leadership role of the party. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has pointed out, Romania is in an advanced stage of socialist construction which requires the best possible resolution of certain questions regarding the destiny of our country. From this follows the need that party activity rise to a new level, achieve a new quality, that it be enflamed with a militantly revolutionary spirit. "We must act decisively," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu says, "to carry out the activities of all party organs and organizations in the best possible fashion so that they are forever in the front lines of the struggle to implement party policies and development plans, and to perform sustained duty to unite all working people regardless of nationality."

The growth of the communist party's leadership role is a critical propellant in perfecting social life as a whole and in the construction of a socialist and communist civilization on Romanian soil. The party, the organizer of the creative energies of our country's working people, is a revolutionary party which energizes the whole of society and which is guided by a scientific and revolutionary perspective of the world--historical and dialectical materialism and scientific socialism. This gives the party the proper perspective on social realities, on the opportunity to anticipate and plan for the innovative transformations of society in concert with the demands of historical progress and the people's aspirations for liberty. Creatively applying the universally valid features of revolution and socialist construction to the specific historical conditions of Romania, our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have made a contribution of inestimable value to the renewal and invigoration of revolutionary thought and practice in Romania and to the enrichment of scientific socialism's theoretical treasury with new ideas, theses and concepts.

The ever more powerful affirmation of the party's role as a political leadership force is rooted in the promotion of the revolutionary spirit. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the recent RCP Central Committee Plenum, the enormous advances of science and technology, of human knowledge in general, and the new discoveries in various disciplines require people with

broad horizons, with an intense revolutionary spirit, with receptivity to that which is new--people determined to boldly advance innovation in all areas of activity. The revolutionary spirit presupposes high quality activity, productivity and efficiency. It demands linkage between word and deed, engagement and results, and it requires the advanced posture and personal example of communists in efforts to achieve the provisions of the 13th Congress's directives. The revolutionary spirit means, too, that every communist, at all times, places the highest priority on the interests of the party, the people and the country; that they set aside any personal interest, that they be revolutionary by profession. The communist must cultivate at all times and everywhere the spirit of justice, of complete objectivity in evaluating facts and people, and in promoting human values. Communists do not have and cannot have special rights and privileges. Their rights are the same as those of all people. They have the additional responsibility as professional revolutionaries and as members of a party that has taken on the historic role of leading the people on the road to socialism and communism, to do everything in their power to completely carry out the decisions of our party's 13th Congress.

The party perceives its leadership role not as something abstract, something above the classes or above society, but one of organic integration with the life of the people, with whose aspirations it identifies. Such an integration is achieved by continuously strengthening the party's links with the broadest range of the masses, with all classes and social categories, and by involving them in the implementation of party policies. Flowing from the party to all working people are the advanced ideas that orient them and inspire them in the struggle for the country's multilateral progress. At the same time, the party is in permanent consultation with the workers, bringing up for their consideration the principal questions concerning its policy. The people express their limitless faith in the party, knowing that there they find assistance for all of the most worthwhile, the most advanced and the most daring activities they undertake. Because the party exercises its leadership role in society not in a declarative way, not through administrative methods or through commands, but through ideological and political methodology, by developing a direct dialog with the people in elaborating its policies and through wide-scale consultation with working people in leading the country, it is engulfed in the unbounded respect, love and trust of all those who toil; its policy is followed by the entire nation, by all the country's citizens with the faith that it expresses the supreme interests of Romania, that it strives for the victory of socialism and communism in our country. Our party is powerful and it fulfills its role of a political leadership force only together with the masses, with all the people.

The continual broadening of party internal democracy is a decisive factor in the growth of the RCP's leadership role in society. The essence, the content of internal party democracy is the active participation of all communists in debating the principal questions of RCP policy, in developing the general political line and in the day-to-day work of implementing the 13th Congress's directives. Party democracy requires strict discipline, a unitary leadership, the complete implementation of the directives of higher party organs and the duty of every communist regardless of his place of work and the position and function he has in the party, to work wholeheartedly in the implementation of party policy in all areas of social life.

The positive guarantee for the growth of the party's leadership role in

society is criticism and self-criticism--a firm stance against any violations of the Party Statutes and party decisions. Principled criticism and self-criticism regarding the shortcomings or errors of any party member make it at all times possible to confront life and the opinions of others, it stimulates powerful forward movement and it guarantees improved party work.

A critical attitude regarding shortcomings and the recognition of self-criticism are powerful forces which help liquidate shortcomings. This is an essential factor in strengthening the leadership role of the party.

The immense authority which our party enjoys with the citizenry is illustrated by the fact that in 1986, 123,284 working people joined the party. By virtue of its social and national composition, the RCP is indissolubly linked to the people, to all workers regardless of nationality. In its ranks are 3,640,000 members from the most advanced workers, peasants, intellectuals and government functionaries. As a result, communists make up 23 percent of the adult population and 33 percent of all employed people. The membership of women in the party is now 34 percent, up from 21.58 percent in 1965. In all sectors of activity and in all socio-economic enterprises, there are strong, representative party organizations at work, organizations composed of the most advanced working people of all socio-professional categories. They lead the collectives, mobilizing them to fulfill the strategic and tactical lines laid down by the party, demonstrating the capacity and organizational force of the party, the adherence of the people to its internal and external policies--the indestructible unity of party and people.

12280

CSO: 2700/215



## 'DER SPIEGEL' INTERVIEW WITH ROMANIAN EMIGRE WRITERS

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German No 19, 4 May 87 pp 154, 156, 158, 160, 163

[Interview with writers Herta Mueller and Richard Wagner on the German minority in Romania by DER SPIEGEL editors Rainer Traub and Olaf Ihlau in West Berlin: "Now the Romanians Put Their Hopes in Gorbachev"; date not given. First paragraph is DER SPIEGEL introduction]

[Text] Herta Mueller and Richard Wagner are regarded as the two most prominent authors of the German-language minority in Romania. The ban on working and publishing in the police state of communist ruler Ceausescu now forced the Banat writers to emigrate and move to West Berlin. Of Herta Mueller, 34, who has already received several literature prizes in the FRG, there appeared in the Rotbuch Verlag the short-prose volume "Niederungen" (Lowlands) and the story "Der Mensch ist ein grosser Fasan auf der Welt" (Man is a Big Pheasant in the World); Richard Wagner, 35, published the volume of poetry "Rostregen" with the Luchterhand publishing house.

SPIEGEL: Herta Mueller, Richard Wagner, you emigrated to West Berlin because you no longer see any future for your homeland. Is it so that you did not want to witness how the Banat Swabians and the Transylvanian Saxons die out as a distinct cultural ethnic group?

MUELLER: Well I believe that we will not be spared to witness that because of the fact that we changed our location.

WAGNER: The exodus of the German minority has been the background against which we wrote and worked in German in Romania. But the cultural activity has so shrunk in recent years that for practical purposes it no longer exists today.

SPIEGEL: You, Herta Mueller, described this dying world in your story "Der Mensch ist ein grosser Fasan auf der Welt" right at the beginning with the following sentence: "Since Windisch wants to emigrate, he sees the end everywhere in the village." Is this book with its imagery typical of the present general situation of the about 250,000 Romanian Germans remaining in the Banat and in Transylvania?

MUELLER: Yes, of course. The German population in Romania really only talks about how it could leave the country. It is obvious that one has to get away.

SPIEGEL: Does this apply not only to intellectuals who are always more mobile? Does that also apply to the farmers? Do they also want to leave their land?

MUELLER: Some are too old to leave and to start all over again. For others it is practically not possible because emigration works only with bribery. Whoever does not have any relatives who can send foreign currency does not have a chance.

SPIEGEL: The federal government does after all pay allowances for each of the about 12,000 Romanian Germans who emigrate each year. The price at present is around DM 8,000 a person.

MUELLER: In Romania another DM 8,000 each must be added for bribes. This amount must come from relatives, which frequently leads to enormous sums, for most of the Romanian Germans still live in extended families.

SPIEGEL: Do the bribes have to be paid directly to the civil servants or authorities?

WAGNER: No, there are always front figures. In Temesvar there is one about whom the entire Banat laughs; he is called "the gardener."

SPIEGEL: A kind of agent?

MUELLER: Yes, the whole operation is carried out through middlemen between secret service, party, and emigrant. What is involved are not only bribe money but also houses and other assets which the emigrants leave behind. That has become a real business operation.

SPIEGEL: Do the Germans want to leave only on account of the bad living conditions in Ceausescu's state or because they are afraid that there is no longer any future for them at all in Romania?

MUELLER: It is probably both, but especially the constantly increasing pressure. All they hear are threats, the people every day hear something about a new pledge to the state. Old people are dragged to the field for patriotic work performance. Then taxes which are so high that the people can no longer see why they should slave away and cultivate their garden if at the end of the year everything will be taken away from them. This idiot, the comrade president, does not have to explain to the farmers how and what they have to grow and harvest. The people feel discouraged.

SPIEGEL: The stepped-up policy of Romanization probably also leads to a reduction of instruction in German at the elementary schools?

WAGNER: Disguised methods are used a great deal in this respect. Once they say the Germans are emigrating anyhow, therefore the schools can no longer be kept in operation because there are not enough children. But on the other hand German teachers continue to be trained. Only they are then assigned to entirely different areas and not to the areas they come from and where a German teacher is urgently needed. They are sent into a Romanian environment where they go sour while a Romanian who doesn't really know German instructs at the German school in his own village. Thus the level goes down and the school is ruined.

SPIEGEL: Does everyone who files an exit application automatically lose his job?

MUELLER: That varies and depends on whether the respective occupation is important to the state. There are cases in which even ordinary workers have their pay downgraded. Older people who have taken their occupation seriously all their lives and have identified themselves with it sometimes cannot take such a downgrading. In my village a man who lost his foreman's position burnt himself to death in his own house for this reason. He had filed an exit application; his children were already in Germany.

WAGNER: A very important role in this process is played by the harassment that starts immediately, the verbal insults. At plant sessions, at party sessions, people are humiliated, declared incompetent and immoral, are labeled as traitors.

MUELLER: These aspersions need not even have to be ideologically justified. Also attacks from Romanians occur who have no prospect of leaving the country and therefore hate the more fortunate ones.

SPIEGEL: Well, Romania has not always been a Stalinist police state; at the end of the sixties there was a cultural-policy opening.

WAGNER: Yes, at the time of the invasion by the Warsaw Pact states of the CSSR--without Romanian participation--Ceausescu almost looked like a liberal. From the independent foreign policy the false conclusion was drawn that Romania was also following a good path domestically. There were times with some room to maneuver. But I would not call that liberalization. Really Romania has always been ruled in a Stalinist manner. Anyhow, until the mid-seventies it was possible to publish more than today.

SPIEGEL: But now the personality cult around Ceausescu dominates everything?

MUELLER: It can probably be said that this Romanian surrogate culture has been reduced to the level of a president who has completed four years of elementary school. Whatever the Conducator (leader) understands as culture and entertainment may take place. What he detests is regarded as dangerous. The state is merely a meaningless shell, this system of the personality cult has nothing to offer but repression.

WAGNER: In the meantime, the birthdays of Ceausescu and his wife Elena are celebrated with stadium festivals as we know them from North Korea or from Maoist China. The program which the children perform in mass scenes must be practiced for weeks in so-called vacation camps.

MUELLER: And every child who hands flowers to Ceausescu must first be vaccinated.

SPIEGEL: What would happen if Ceausescu were gone by tomorrow?

WAGNER: That is a difficult question. There would probably be a transition period, for there are no alternatives to Ceausescu; he eliminated all alternatives.

SPIEGEL: In other words, his wife Elena or his son Nicu would not be a possibility as successors?

WAGNER: All depends on the only organization that functions in Romania: the secret police. It will assume power. Elena wouldn't have a chance to survive for long.

SPIEGEL: Won't the present Soviet openness and reform policy irritate the toadies surrounding the Conducator?

MUELLER: Of course, the president is also irritated by that. He has clearly dissociated himself from that policy and has spoken of the dangers of "market socialism".

SPIEGEL: Why does the Romanian populace so patiently tolerate the material deprivation, the personality cult with its excesses?

MUELLER: What are the people to do? They are concerned with their sheer survival. The worse off they are, the more important it is for them to get a hold of a piece of salami.

SPIEGEL: But isn't there a threshold of pain? Recently leaflets appeared in Bucharest calling for Ceausescu's overthrow.

MUELLER: Lone wolves, people who simply want to get rid of their disgust are probably hiding behind the leaflets....

WAGNER: ...there is no militant group behind that, there exists no opposition solidarity, no program.

SPIEGEL: Indeed why not?

WAGNER: For once you should experience that you are unable to buy anything at all, as happened last to us in Temesvar. You get into a conversation with someone in front of an empty store and the latter says: "It shouldn't get any worse." That is a Romanian idiomatic expression. Then I have always asked myself: What can get any worse? Apparently the people are always afraid of something that could be even worse than the situation they are now facing. In the circle of our friends there was a great deal of discussion about the reason that nothing moves in Romania. First we came to the conclusion that the intellectuals, in contrast to other countries, are not at all thinking about the condition of their country.

SPIEGEL: But after all you do it.

WAGNER: Yes, but we are a minority. "You can allow yourselves to do that, for you are Germans," our Romanian writer colleagues told us when we criticized the Balkan subservience. Perhaps that is somewhat linked to the centuries of oppression by the Turks.

SPIEGEL: The Serbs also suffered under that oppression but they would hardly let themselves be regimented now.

WAGNER: Quite so. But people also say that before the war there was no longer any time to develop a political culture in Romania. Then when the communists assumed power it was very easy for them to impose Stalinism.

MUELLER: We have frequently told ourselves: It is stupid that we cannot explain this condition of patiently taking it. But Romania is neither Hungary nor Yugoslavia. There may perhaps be a few persons in opposition now and then, but there is no continuity.

WAGNER: The resistance wears itself out in complaining, among the intellectuals and even among the party functionaries. Everybody says how bad things are. The leadership stratum complains as much as the population; that is the common denominator. Now the Romanians hope that Gorbachev will do something and will intervene.

SPIEGEL: The Soviets as innovators and liberators?

MUELLER: Yes, Gorbachev as liberator.

SPIEGEL: Mrs. Mueller, especially your first book, "Niederungen," shows that you have suffered not only under the state repression but also perhaps even more directly under the narrow-minded, limited, frequently reactionary mentality of the German minority. Were you without a home in a twofold sense?

MUELLER: Yes, precisely this morose, narrow-minded provincialism has imbued me with hatred with which I could write "Niederungen." We intellectuals did not feel ourselves represented by this German minority, who reacted with vituperation to our texts. The Germans looked for themselves in the texts and when they felt they had found themselves or someone else from somewhere, then they were indignant and demanded that I be punished for that.

SPIEGEL: By whom, the Romanian state?

MUELLER: No, there were mostly private letters: People ought to spit at me, people will show me. Even now, after the second book, I received letters from around Stuttgart, from people who emigrated. These letters were forwarded to me very punctually by the Romanian postal service, otherwise I get almost nothing. They said I had no business being in Germany, I should stay where I belong.

SPIEGEL: Did you ever think of going to the GDR?

MUELLER: I really have never thought of that. Also because I heard time and again stories such as Wolf Biermann's expulsion. After that the GDR anyhow was no longer under consideration for us.

SPIEGEL: How big is your literary circle "Banat Action Group" in Romania now, how many want to leave, who wants to remain?

WAGNER:: We left two people back in Temesvar who also made exit applications, Johann Lippert and Helmuth Frauendorfer.

SPIEGEL: And who wants to stay there?

WAGNER: Virtually all of our friends have left. There is still one whom we regard especially highly. Franz Hodjak from Cluj-Napoca, the best known German-language writer in Romania. He probably wants to remain. Otherwise there are really only the soil poets who write the birthday poems for Ceausescu.

MUELLER: Blood and land--blood is for Ceausescu and land is for soil.

SPIEGEL: Doesn't the fate of your friend Rolf Bossert frighten you? A year ago he was found dead under the window of a Frankfurt emigrant home--a few weeks after his emigration.

MUELLER: For us Rolf's death was a heavy blow, that is a very sad story. In Romania he was quite badly harassed. When he was then given the passport, he no longer understood that he will be rid of that country. He no longer believed in his journey; he got on the train and did not believe that he really was going away.

SPIEGEL: But the train left for you. Did you also arrive?

WAGNER: We have not yet settled down. It still seems a little unreal to me. But in contrast to Rolf, we have previously been in the Federal Republic for a visit. We knew where we would be going, while Rolf's travel was his first and only foreign travel. He had always only experienced this Bucharest pressure.

SPIEGEL: How do you cope with the consumption world of the West?

MUELLER: The beginning is difficult. The things cause pain. To the legs, to the arms, to the eyes, to the ears. Even to the lips. When I sit in the bar in front of a big plate, then the lips hurt. During the first few days it happened that I suddenly believed in the street that I was now in a movie: I moved on the screen like in a movie by Fassbinder.

For example I got into a bar, wanted to buy cigarettes, there was a rather strange group: three men and a man in a wheelchair played cards and another sat in front of a beer glass and slept. I was rather irritated and then the salesperson had no change he owed me. The other guests offered to pay.

SPIEGEL: You didn't know how to react?

MUELLER: I did not know whether that was being friendly. I am so used to people not being friendly, so that I always look for motives although they probably do not exist at all. The baggage that was brought along is still there. I was a little afraid. All I wanted to do was to escape from this situation. I could not categorize it and felt completely insecure.

SPIEGEL: The standards were lacking?

MUELLER: Yes, when I looked at people in the street in Romania, from their clothing I immediately had an idea who belonged to what stratum. I knew how inexpensive, how expensive--I was able to categorize the people socially. I am completely unable to do that here. On the other hand we have a very intensive awareness for the things, because of the very fact that we do not know them and because really everything attracts our attention.

SPIEGEL: Mr Wagner, you prefaced your first literary volume "Klartext" (Clear Text) in 1973 with a Brecht quotation: "When the errors have been used up, nothingness faces us as the sole companion." Would you now relate that to your personal situation?

WAGNER: It describes precisely my situation during the past three years. I was pushed to the edge in Romania, also in the literary field, and virtually could no longer do anything at all. And it became evident to me that I would also be devoid of material. It isn't so that one can write liberated for things to be put into a drawer, if one's writings are banned. At any rate I wrote less and less and was afraid that I would just sit there and would be in a fog if I stayed there longer.

SPIEGEL: Mrs Mueller, are you worried that your creativity will be damaged under the new conditions? Are you thinking about new topics?

MUELLER: I no longer feel qualified to continue providing the old topics on the life of the Germans in the Banat. I don't want that, I could only go around in circles. My metaphores would quickly wear out, my language would probably become smooth, if I repeatedly came back to that. I must try--and I would have had to do the same thing in Romania--to find new topics and to make other particulars of the reality linguistically accessible to me. I believe there would not have been much more available in Romania as far as topics are concerned because the background disappears, Ceausescu wants to level the villages and cement them over.

WAGNER: I want to come to grips with this reality, I now live here. If I bump against something and have problems, I want to think about that in writing.

SPIEGEL: Is there already something against which you are bumping, about which you want to write here?

MUELLER: For the time being I am happy that I can breathe a sigh of relief. Now I feel like a child when it is taken by the hand and led through the city, through the world.

WAGNER: We did not leave Romania with the idea of being freed from the problems of existence and to come to a country where one can retire. Of course it is a different situation, but here one is pulled just as much hither and yon, one must express opinions, hold one's ground and fight against something.

SPIEGEL: ...only no longer against personality cult.

WAGNER: Yes, we like to miss the personality cult a little in our life.

SPIEGEL: Mrs Mueller, Mr Wagner, we thank you for this interview.

12356

CSO: 2300/309



## DISCUSSION OF MORALITY-RELIGION RELATIONSHIP

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian No 11,822, 6 June 1987, p 2

[Article by Dr Vasile Popescu]

[Text] An analysis of the morality-religion relationship is particularly important both for appropriate understanding of the content of the materialist concept of the world and life as well as for adequately fulfilling the educational tasks which define the process of forming the new man. This is especially so since even among those with a relatively well-established culture exist mistaken opinions and attitudes in this regard. So we must say that particularly in the modern age, faced with great scientific achievements, religion is "withdrawing" toward the "human" area, asserting that its theses and precepts must be viewed in particular as expressing a "true" catechism of understanding of life, with its working out and supporting those general-human moral values which make man a being worthy of happiness and capable of personal fulfillment. From this we have overbidding of the "ethical quality" of the life of the religious person compared with the atheist, who "no longer fears anything," and emphasis on the idea that in the end there are not significant differences between the main values of socialism and the "humanism" of Christian percepts, which leads to the thesis of the possibility for "coexistence" of religion and morality in socialism as two independent points, but noncontradictory ones, in individual and collective awareness.

Undoubtedly we know that morality and religion are the oldest forms of social awareness (only art can still claim such a status). The demands for regulating the first forms of collective life brought the appearance of the seeds of ethical standards; on the other hand, the first forms of religion (animism, totemism, witchcraft, cult of the sun and so forth) also appeared in the primitive society when the misunderstood forces of nature led to supernatural explanations, integrated into a series of myths and fantastic concepts which brought various forms of cults. A mystical interpretation of the social environment joined with the splitting of society into antagonistic classes, when exploitation of the masses imposed itself as a blind and misunderstood force similar to that of the forces of nature and mystical interpretation of the environment, with that of the social environment in a relatively short time becoming preponderant in the alienating content of religion. To a great extent social awareness in Gentile society had a syncretic nature, with its forms often acting indistinctly, mutually affecting each other and combining into complex myths and so forth. However it is clear that morality and religion from the beginning have definitive qualities, reasons and varying goals: setting standards for everyday human

relations--morality; reflecting (distorted) of surrounding reality--religion. In morality the cognitive point is subordinate to the standard while, in religion, the cognitive at the beginning is subordinate to the standard, later achieving complementary relationships. So one may say that in the first phases religion intrinsically does not have moral concerns, being "beyond good and evil." Yet, due to the syncretism of social awareness, it had various links with morality, which led to establishment of a common ground between the two forms of social awareness. Actually this "border" ground was the result of mutual borrowings; taking over certain fantastic ontological-gnoseological subjects, morality adds omnipresent, but "unseen" control of sacrality; on the other hand, religion itself completes its seductive force through a "nearing" of real needs of community relations, integrating the ideal point of general human values of direct everyday life, but shifting achievement into a later life--"the world beyond the beyond," according to the expression of a well-known modern Romanian writer.

This complex process of interaction and mutual takeover influenced the later development both of morality as well as of religion. In a relative way it satisfies establishing of moral awareness in itself, stressing the sacred component of "sin" in the content of moral remorse; at the same time, religion forms its own ethical area, actually assimilating the profane and lay moral commandments and aspirations and transforming them into precepts of divine inspiration. So the process takes place along the morality-religion path and in no way inversely, as religious apologists claim. The social determinations of religion, which begin to take action following the start of great social divisions of labor and the appearance of relations of exploitation, contribute to strengthening of the conserving function of religion, of justification and consolidation of oppressing relations, repressive relations among classes and people. That is why a primary problem which must be analyzed is the one of moral values.

#### 1. The Hierarchy of Moral Values in the View of Ethics and Religion

It has been shown that numerous bourgeois ideologists, as well as insufficiently informed people in our society, overbid the social and moral value of religion, particularly the beginnings of Christian religion: the thesis on "true communism" of the first Christian communities or on "Christian humanism" are brought in as arguments regarding the so-called community of values of socialist ethics and religious ethics. Is it really a question of such a "community of values?" First let us explain the hierarchical system of the values of Christian morality.

Even if the Gospels and other writings of the New Testament do not explicitly offer a total moral system of values, there are numerous references to this problem. They will have to be analyzed from two viewpoints: first, depending on the hierarchy of elements of the value system; second, depending on the methods through which they must be respected. From both viewpoints the Biblical texts are confused to a certain extent: In the Gospel According to Matthew, the love of God is "the greatest and foremost commandment," with the second being the love of one's neighbor "as yourself," while the second epistle of the Apostle Peter presents the following more detailed scale of Christian virtues: faith, good works, knowledge, abstinence, patience, piety, brotherly love, and love while according to the Apostle Paul love of your neighbor subordinates all other Christian precepts. So, whereas some passages of the Epistles of the Apostle Paul place value on tolerance and ethical relativism, other parts of the New Testament demand steadfast respect for precepts.

If we go beyond these differences (sometimes even if they are inadvertent), the value system of Christian morality should include such values as love of God, love of your neighbor (love of your enemy and nonresistance to evil), humility (together with suffering, meekness, mildness), subjection (of the woman to the man, of children to their parents, of slaves to their masters), asceticism (continual opposition between human and divine, the opposition whose expression is the contradiction between the body and the soul, between intense living and "consecrated" vegetation).

The intimate structural links uniting all these values (now we are making an abstraction of the basic precept of the love of God) are clear: attempting to achieve a moral order which aids inequality, relations of oppression as well as the desire to make permanent an ethic through its repressive nature, the Christian ethical precepts are subordinate to the demand of "give everyone what you owe them: to the one with wealth, wealth, to the one with tribute, tribute, to the one with fear, fear." This is because "rule comes only from God." For that reason any political and economic system, no matter how reactionary and dehumanized, is served with the same unflinching zeal of such social and ethical principles.

However, the system of values of Christian ethics must also be evaluated as an integrated ensemble of principles regarding basic and, one can say, exclusive values: love of God. Unfortunately, even in our society we meet enough opinions on "general human value" of such evangelical commandments: "love your neighbor!" (we shall examine the real content of this precept in the next paragraph), "be merciful!", "do not gather wealth on earth!", "honor your father and mother!" and many others. But all these can only be truly understood by relating to the super-commanding value decisively and definitively: love for divinity. Let us give an example: what apparently can be more profoundly human than the precept of "honor your father and mother?" And, yet, in the strict structure of "the law," the real human value of this precept is minimal, since the Gospel According to Matthew says, "He who loves his mother or his father more than he loves Me is not worthy of me" or "and whoever leaves his brothers or sisters or father or mother or woman or children in My name will take a hundredfold and will inherit eternal life." In other words, "honor" for one's parents becomes completely relative, with its opposite being permitted and even demanded in relationship with the total subordination of action, thought and affection for the divinity. So one may state, generalizing, that the values of Christian morality, even the apparently general human ones, basically express deep religious alienation of ethics, of moral personality. The elementary principles of living together also have the same situation. Again, an example: for many nations, among which is also our own, hospitality is one of the most perennial traditions of characteristics; the years and years of this tradition go beyond the coordinates of existence of the nations of the modern world and are lost in the darkness of history, expressing one of the oldest lasting features of humans living together. And this is how the Letters to the Hebrews presents it, changed qualitatively: "do not forget to accept guests because, through this, some, without knowing it, have accepted angels as their guests!" That same mechanism of religious alienation, which transferred into the world of supernatural beings and motivations with a sacred content the concrete relationships of everyday living together. Moral behavior in its entirety is placed under the domination of this emotional certainty--faith--arational (and, in

extreme cases, even irrational), which gives meaning and form to the supernatural commandments. Suspending of thinking and one's own judgment is an implicit and explicit requirement of Christian moral values.

I have spoken of the repressive nature of this system of values, of the feeling of permanent fear before the moral option which is emphasized by the unforeseeable and inexplicable nature of the divine action which, as it pleases, inverses doling out punishments and rewards. What is more, not even the "final" judgment puts matters in order in this relativistic ethic; the much praised commandments and Christian values may be violated without fear of consequences if the individual "repents"; "any sin and any blasphemy will be forgiven the people" and "if someone sees his brother sinning, he should pray and God will give life to that brother." True, in conformity with the basic principle, the only "blasphemy" without forgiveness, "the sin of death," is "blasphemy of God!"

But, by this, the value system of Christian morality is definitively compromised. All the values, except for the super-commanding one, of love for divinity (which itself at least in everyday life does not receive appropriate reward) are kept suspended in a total relativism. So, by its very intimate nature, Christian morality induces duplicity and relativism, while the so-called values and commandments lose their reality both as models of behavior as well as hindrances in the path of ethical deviance.

With matters standing this way, it is clear that socialist morality not only cannot "integrate" the values of religious ethics or their system of penalties but through its own structure is totally opposed to them and will reject them unconditionally. First, because the value system of revolutionary ethics is an integrated system of values within which, regardless of the place occupied, its elements have their specific importance and interact by stimulating each other. Second, socialist morality is an ethic of human emancipation and de-alienation; through its nature it is, thus, atheistic, since it is the implacable adversary of any means of reification of values. Third, socialist morality is centered on the multilateral, active and transforming personality, involving in dialectical unity reason and emotion, feeling and will, judgment and attitude. Finally, the punishment structure of the socialist moral-value system is, on one hand, predominantly positive and, on the other, completely nonrelativist, unhesitating. The opinion of socialist collectivity as well as one's moral awareness of self as a participant in building the new system not only cannot use fear as a basic means of punishing values and obtaining conformity of standards, but rather propose precisely to free the personality from internal and external repressiveness.

## 2. False Solution to Man's Problems As Promoted by Religion; The Anti-Humanist Meaning of Certain Religious Practices

In 1946 Mihail Ralea wrote, "Any humanism contains within it a seed of atheism." This is a completely justified assertion, although many theologians as well as private individuals dispute it, basing it on the well-known evangelical thesis that "all the law is comprised in a word and that is to love your neighbor as you love yourself." As such, since "your neighbor" is man, the individual, regardless of his condition, Christian ethics as the ethics of love for man in general can only be a profoundly humanist ethic.

Let us examine this thesis both in its specific content as well as its practical implications. First, divine substantiation for this precept is explained in this way: "Beloved, let us love one another because love is from God." In other words, the direct "man-man" relationship takes on meaning and significance in attitude only through the introduction of the third super-commanding term in the relationship: the divinity. The real world merely takes over the value of love which is given to it; love for one's neighbors, thus, is begun outside man, somehow being similar to a moral mimicry *sui generis*: "If God loved us, then we too are obligated to love one another." So one may speak justifiably of the first major limitation of Christian "humanism": it is exterior, added to human nature, with faith and love for man basically being the more or less successful reiteration of certain "feelings" born in extra-human coordinates.

One could object that, even as exterior value, love for one's neighbors still remains the stimulating pivot of collective moral life. However, matters are not this way; love for one's neighbors is qualitatively subordinate to love for the divinity. While you must love God "with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your mind and all your power," you merely have to love your neighbors "as yourself," as the Apostle Luke says. So, the first love cancels out the second, since the latter is actually demanded merely to eliminate personal egoism without which it is not possible to have complete self-denial before the divinity. As a result we must cope with a pseudohumanism; love for one's neighbors is conditional and conditioned, changing into a value-means which mainly seeks to vanquish "self-importance" and faith in oneself and personal individuality in the name of the true value-goal: love for the divinity. Christian ethics, thus, is a repressive-paternalistic ethic in which so-called humanism of love of one's neighbor does not have its foundation in what is human but in the fear of "judgment," with the motivation for behavior being completely exterior and negative; the neighbors become a means and unselfishness and true generosity--real qualities of humanism--leave the perimeter of religious ethics.

A direct consequence of divine paternalism is the hyperbolization of human "nothingness," with inducements for humbleness, humility, asceticism. All these precepts induce spiritual inactivity, they minimize, if not hinder, creativity, they deprive the human personality of what is truly specific to it: the aptitude of directing one's own development consciously and critically. Man with a capital "M" is a concept completely opposed to Christian "humanism," which through many of its practices, particularly in some sects, makes specific the "commands" above in social indifference, pessimism, world-weariness, fear of the new, irrationalism and so forth, even going up to committing certain antisocial acts (the specific examples are well known).

Finally, the so-called religious "humanism" relates to man as an abstract entity: the neighbor, as has been said, is not a specific individual, but man in general. Such a concept has at least two negative consequences: one is at the theoretical level and the other--at the practical. Theoretically, Christian moral doctrine is undermined by a basic contradiction: on one hand it wishes to be an ethic of collectivity and, on the other, it proves to be profoundly individualistic and egoistic, marked by personal interest in the much-awaited "reward." To relate indistinctly to specific people ("love your enemies") means more than a conserving ethic: it is an express denial of reciprocity as the basis for moral obligation.

At the level of social life love of one's neighbor as an abstract man has a deeply conserving nature and directly serves the interests of the dominant class. In the world based on the existence of antagonistic classes, love for one's neighbors establishes moral duties which are different for producers (listening) and for owners (philanthropy), favoring the untouched maintenance of relations of exploitation. In socialism, the abolishment of relations of economic dependence between classes reduces the directly conserving impact of the love for one's neighbor, but the problem of the quality of practical morality remains. Truly, indistinct love for one's neighbors and its corollary ("non-resistance to evil") open broadly the path of moral relativism and lack substance and appreciation for specific facts, induce passiveness and social indifference. Until even listening to the master" basically is seen as totally contrary to the active participation of workers in the conscious building of their own future--a central concept of the moral-political profile of the new man and of revolutionary humanism.

Thus, the so-called religious humanism actually turns out to be anti-humanism. Not one of the real qualities of the human personality, which truly define its nature which arose regarding the world of the irrational and purely instinctive animal, is promoted by religion. In exchange, its precepts demand hearing and blind faith ("do not be sons of doubt," "blessed are the poor with the spirit"), passiveness and nonresistance to evil, humility and asceticism, egoism awaiting "reward": Real humanism is the humanism of man's daring dignity, it is the humanism of faith in the opportunities for the individual's self-improvement, it is the humanism of the man integrated in the collective and reciprocity of rights and obligations. Through this socialist humanism is instituted as a basic principle of a constructive and creative ethic which stimulates dignity and happiness and the positive interaction of the individual-collectivity: revolutionary humanism, as shown generally in this regard by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, means a more complex understanding of man in society, taken not as an isolated individual and exaggerating his individual features, but rather as social man closely linked with and interdependent upon his neighbors, with the interests of the broad popular masses. Socialist humanism means restoring personal happiness in the context of asserting the personality of all the people."

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CSO: 2700/225

## WORKER MILITIA ARTILLERY TRAINING DESCRIBED

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German Vol 31 No 4, Apr 87 p 5

[Article by VP Lt Col Behr: "Accuracy Has Priority"]

[Text] Accurate "shooting" and the procedures necessary for it are not learned without effective, high-quality training. Consequences for training flow from this. If what is acknowledged as necessary is only partially put into effect by superiors, however, then this inconsistency will negatively influence the training of militiamen and crews and their attitude towards orders, as well as towards service regulations and instructions.

It is required of artillery units that they fulfill every fire mission--irrespective of conditions--in the shortest time and with the minimum expenditure of ammunition. That presupposes that the platoon leaders and gun and mortar detachment commanders acquire all the necessary skills and abilities in artillery firing training, that they develop decisiveness and initiative, and that they apply the firing rules in a creative manner. The basis for this is the artillery's gunnery manual. The pedagogical potentialities contained in it can only be realized if all superiors take steps against any mechanistic or one-sided interpretation of its contents and against any oversimplification. Using the example of fire mission number eight, some elementary rules of artillery firing training which are decisive for firing accuracy, are dealt with. In this process, procedures for determining distances to orientation points and prominent landmarks are described, and instructions for firing from concealed firing positions are given. It is important that the mortar detachment commanders understand how to apply the firing rules correctly, how to master the preparation of the initial data, are practiced in observing and evaluating the impacts, and are able to direct registration fire and firing for effect without error. The result is substantially determined by the firing preparations. This includes: the preparing of the mortar, the equipment and ammunition, as well as establishing the line to target; selecting the orientation points and determining the distances to them; reconnoitering the targets and determining the initial settings. The firing manual stipulates that he who fires must make a decision prior to fulfilling the fire mission since the fire mission is logically a part of a tactical situation/mission. That compels the selection, from a series of reconnoitered targets, of precisely that one which, in that particular situation, most seriously threatens the success of friendly tactical action. This requires independently determining by what means and in which manner the fire mission is to be accomplished. The 82-mm mortar is a high-angle weapon. Its constructive characteristics permit it

to fulfill all fire missions from a concealed firing position. Thus, firing positions are not to be taken up by those units in open areas or indeed on high ground from which the target can be directly sighted. For that exposes the crew to hostile ground observation, fire and fragmentation effect during tactical action.

In firing from a concealed firing position, the direction to the target should be determined by the following method: The mortar's sighting device is mounted onto a holder. With the holder and the sight, the mortar detachment commander proceeds to a location in the vicinity of the firing position (it should not be more than 20 to 25 meters from the firing position) from where he can examine the target and the azimuth mark. From there, he aligns the target, gets a bearing on the azimuth mark, and passes the sight with the set aiming circle to the gunner. The latter attaches the sight to the mortar again and aims at the azimuth mark.

Independent of the terrain and weather conditions and the abilities of the mortar detachment commander, relatively large errors can occur in estimating distances to the target. This can have as a result that the first firing bracket must be plotted several times, that in evaluating the fire mission the deviation in distance will lie outside the allowable limits, and that the mission will have to be evaluated as "not fulfilled." For this reason great attention must be paid to firing preparations, especially to the precise determining of distances to orientation points and prominent landmarks. Thus, it must be required of mortar detachment commanders that they include the greatest possible number of orientation points in the OP [orientation point] sketch and determine the distances to them with great accuracy.

But the level of the crew's training must also be raised. We place great value on the personal responsibility of the individual gunner for painstaking and exact work. In individual activities the gunners should be shown repeatedly the consequences which result from inaccuracy and superficiality in the performance of their functional duties. If all the conditions for great accuracy in the determination of the initial data have been created, then it is, in the final analysis, up to the gunners. They must aim the mortar quickly and accurately. Frequently the bubble level is not precisely aligned for the sake of quickness and thus the principle "Accuracy takes precedence over speed" is violated. Every mil can be decisive in firing accuracy. That entails always switching off the "backlash" of the aiming mechanisms when aiming. That is why the gunners always set the ordered value from the right. If the value has once been passed, the gunners should then turn back the fine adjustment gear by 20 or 30 mils and again roll up on the value from the right.

13238/12781  
CSO: 2300/283



## LOW QUALITY HIDDEN BEHIND ANONYMITY OF PRODUCER

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Feb 87 p 1

[Text] It used to be a good custom of the large engineering plants that the foreman would stamp the completed product with his mark. It was certification that the foreman guaranteed the work put out and its quality. Even today it is possible to find such a mark on some machinery, even though it has outlived its maker by many years. Currently this good old custom is only rarely practiced by some bookbinding plants where a slip of paper is placed in their products with the name of the person who checked on there being no faults in the work and guarantees it.

Today most products are designated only with the name of the enterprise. The specific manufacturer remains anonymous. This is justified by the fact that in the modern production process with its complexity of sources from many branches of specialization and the cooperation of individual workshops of the production operation, it is not even possible to do otherwise. The enterprise takes collective responsibility for the dozens, hundreds, and sometimes even thousands of people who share in completion of the products.

In determining the originator of some faulty product, in some plants they are capable of finding out which workshop did not pay adequate attention to quality, but only rarely can they determine the specific person whose guilt is demonstrable. We have nothing against the attempt to fight for the honor of the enterprise trademark and the good reputation of the production collective, but this does not create the desirable prerequisites for a growth in the quality level of the goods. In order to achieve a decisive turnaround, quality must come out from anonymity.

In many of our enterprises there are units for managing the development of quality. But when the overall level of our production in many ways totally does not meet the specific modern demands, these units obviously so far have not utilized all their opportunities or, to put it more precisely, are not carrying out all their duties. Obviously the fact that there is little emphasis placed on (and little control of) the personal contribution of each individual obviously also plays an unhappy role in this. And as long as it is possible to hide the individual share in the collective results it is hardly possible to expect any kind of substantial improvement. One

of the important prerequisites for increasing quality stems from this, which is to introduce a system which again makes it possible to discover the specific originators of faulty work.

In more than one case, time decides on the value of quality. This concerns mainly foodstuffs, but also some other products. On most of them it is entirely impossible to discover the production date, even though this is indicative for the period of usability. The excuse that the date is on the large packages in which the goods come to the store is a cajoling evasion for the consumer. The date should not be missing even on the tags marking fashion goods because they determine the validity of the period of higher prices; after it runs out, the price is supposed to come down. It seems, however, that the above practice is more suited to trade than to production. Thus, not only the anonymity of persons, but even of time, is one obstacle which must be removed.

It also used to be a good custom to mark buildings with the name of the firm which built it and sometimes even the name of the architect who created their project. Would it not be suitable to return to this practice? Perhaps it would lead the construction people to greater responsibility for the quality of their work. With modern migration of the population, only those who have lived in a place for a long time (and sometimes not even they) remember which construction group they have to thank for the fact that with every heavy rainstorm they have puddles in their homes or where they have an eternal draft because of negligent connection of panels or other work poorly done.

From that standpoint, it is a rare bird when you find an enterprise which openly admits that it is temporarily disrupting the lives of the surrounding inhabitants. We are familiar with, for example, the signs saying "Metrostav is building here." Usually, however, there is no sign designating the enterprise carrying out the construction project and when there sometimes is, then it rarely has information on the schedule for completion of the work by its undertakers. This, too, is a case of anonymity.

The principles of reorganizing the economic mechanism begin with an expansion of authority in the enterprise sphere as they themselves will decide what and how to produce in addition to the social and obligatory tasks. The consequences of interest or lack of interest in their products will show up in the profits and a number of enterprise funds. One can predict that this will force the majority of enterprises to pay more attention to the useful features and qualities of their goods, since otherwise they will not earn anything.

Someone could therefore object that it is unnecessary to make extreme efforts at increasing quality since the economic tools themselves will make it necessary in time. But our economy is not in a situation where it can wait a year, two, or more until this or that enterprise wakes up after the bank tells them that they do not have a single koruna in their accounts, until

they realize that no one wants their products. To say nothing of the fact that it is hardly possible to change quality from day to day. That requires systematic, long-term care and the creation of all prerequisites and conditions necessary.

And one of these prerequisites is the ability to get back to the manufacturer not only collectively, but also individually. To take away anonymity from each worker and also from the technical and supervisory managers and elevate his personal responsibility for the results of joint work is an important factor for improving the quality of products. Not least of all, it is also a condition for applying the principle of compensation according to the quantity and quality of work.

This mainly applies to production, but also is the same for trade, services, and administrative activities. Each decision must be made on the basis of a thorough knowledge of the affairs and must be the optimum variant of the solution sought. The usual practice sharply contrasts with this requirement where the decisionmaking is passed down to the lowest employee and the chain of managerial command upward then just rubber-stamps his proposal and signs it without investigating whether this is really a good solution. In this case, there are loads of signatures on such a "product" but if a mistake is then discovered later, only in rare cases are those who signed held responsible.

Each employee has his own share of responsibility. It is a matter of making it apparent. This is an effective route toward raising the quality of work and thus its results as well. Just as the goals of society are specific, those who are contributing to meeting these goals through their work must also be specific.

It is the obvious nature of their contribution that can and must become a factor significantly affecting the process of creating quality. But as long as quality hides in enterprise anonymity and is moreover insured by various funds for paying claims, supplemental rebates, penalties, or losses from spoilage, so long will efforts at increasing it be fragmentary, incomplete, and thus of little effectiveness.

And one other thing is of the utmost necessity and that is to bring the attitudes of the producer and the consumer together. Not to behave like producers toward demands for quality which are reasonable, but like consumers to apply the highest rights. It is never possible to bring such a dual approach into harmony in a socialist society. There exists only a single path, which is to produce honestly and to have an obvious claim that for the resources acquired through such high quality and responsible work, one gets his needs satisfied by goods from other manufacturers that are of the same quality.

6285/12851  
CS0: 2400/161

## ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING, 'TURNAROUND IN THINKING' LINKED

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 7, 1986 pp 8-9

[Article by Doc Eng Milan Matejka, CSc., College of Economics, Prague:  
"Restructuring the Economic Mechanism"]

[Text] Recent documents pertaining to the management of the Czechoslovak economy raised not only hopes but doubts as well. Many people are asking themselves the question: "Are fundamental changes in the economic mechanism really necessary? Would it not be better to continue improving the system which has been evolving for years?" Others have the feeling they have been hearing and reading about the words--need for intensification, improving the quality of products, accelerating technological development, improvement in meeting the needs of domestic and foreign markets, standing up to bureaucracy, strengthening the management role of the center and the socialist entrepreneurship of organizations, etc., for years and that such goals were already contained in the Set of Measures. They are asking, therefore, what is so revolutionary about the currently advocated changes. And those who see in restructuring truly revolutionary changes and recognize their objective necessity, are concerned that we may not be psychologically prepared or have the necessary skills to manage the economy under entirely new conditions, that too much haste, when cadres are not ready for a qualitatively new method of management, will cause more harm than good and will discredit a good thing. They are asking how we are to train cadres for the new conditions in the first place. Among other things, such questions have been asked already in the past by workers in economic theory as well as practice, who were critically concerned with the situation in management, who came to the conclusion, based on an analysis of the situation, that a restructuring of the economic mechanism was necessary, and who either directly or indirectly took part in it. Even though a comprehensive answer to all these pertinent questions is not a simple matter, it is the duty particularly of the theoreticians to address them.

The difference between the current changes in the management of the national economy and the changes which have been carried out in the past is apparent even from the terminology. The word "improvement" has been supplanted by the word "restructuring." And restructuring means a change in thinking, and that change in thinking--that most basic and difficult of changes--usually is not made sufficiently specific.

## Restructuring in New Thinking

A fundamental turnaround in thinking, without which restructuring cannot succeed, should, in my opinion start with a reevaluation of the relationship between the center and the enterprises. It is a characteristic assumption of the old way of thinking that the amount of information on which correct economic decisions depend increases with the management level. The central agencies have the most information, and thus only they can make the best decisions about the range of products, costs, and other factors of production, following a plan based on many indicators. Individual problems are dealt with by expanding the plan by more indicators and a number of binding directives which are passed from the sectional central agencies down the individual lines of management. Such a procedure, employed in trying to improve the planning and management system in the past, also had a certain moral subtext. It implied that workers' responsibility toward society also increases with each higher level of management, that the relationship of enterprise managers to society carries the least responsibility, and that it is therefore necessary to impose limits on and supervise the enterprises.

Such thinking is not rational. It does not take into consideration the fundamental economic principles--the principle of substitution, or compensation of the efficiency factors, or the coincidental principle of optimization. It does not take sufficiently into account the changing conditions, needs, and general increase of knowledge.

By issuing too many directives, the center not only limits far too much the decision making space of the enterprise, but even that is often far removed from what is optimal for society. Moreover, directives, going from the center down individual lines are not interconnected and are often quite contradictory. The contradictions are exacerbated by the lack of coherence between departmental and regional planning.

The irrationality of our present thinking and the behavior of the center that stems from it, can be made clearer by an example. Increasing the efficiency of production can be facilitated, for instance, by substituting automatic machinery for manual labor, which can lead to higher material costs on the one hand, but on the other hand to a decrease in wages and, in most cases, also to an overall reduction of costs of a given production; but if we plan the material costs of production for the enterprises, as well as the reduction of the share of material costs of the final product, we shall erect an artificial barrier to the above-mentioned substitution. A similar situation exists in the financial sphere. Examples of current financial regulations that make it possible to squander money out of one cash box and impossible to use a substantially lower amount of money out of another cash box, are many. This holds true also in the way money is disbursed in individual years.

The principle of substitution has led to absurd lengths in using product classification and even terminology. The products individual sectors are taxed by the financial agency in different ways, and the fate of a product can be determined by its very name. For example, a very advanced wheelchair for invalids was included under the name Chair TT in sector 397 which

is taxed at +99.68 percent, and that made it unsaleable. After renaming the product Cart VINT it was included in sector 543 which has a negative tax of -3.85 percent. Thus sales were assured and the production saved.

It is particularly surprising that the elementary principles of economic thought gradually disappeared even from the financial sphere of the management of our economy which should be preventing such uneconomical practices.

But let us return to the problem which is of more consequence for society, the planning of material costs. It is quite clear that the center today makes decisions about things which can best be decided by the enterprises; only they have the necessary information at their disposal, for instance about the individual aspects of the technology and organization of a production, which have to be taken into account in order to establish the optimums of values of those indicators. Today that is done by the higher agencies. Moreover, the changes in the optimums have to be seen on the one hand as a consequence of objectively changing costs of inputs, technological advances, etc., and on the other hand as a consequence of increasing knowledge, for example about better production methods in other enterprises or in other countries. The determination of the optimums, or to put it better, how closely to approximate the optimums, requires that it be done in close connection with the actual production. The more we are removed from it, the less we have of the needed information.

It is also necessary to look at the great variety of specific products, their technological development, and the changing requirements of consumers, and here again it is possible to react appropriately and flexibly only at the enterprise level (provided that the enterprise did establish the necessary information base). A detailed planning of the range of products from above is another impediment to providing society with the optimum kinds of products from the point of view of their efficiency. As a result of not having enough pertinent information in the center about the specific needs of domestic and foreign consumers as well as of the objective impossibility, given the enormous complexity of interproduction linkage, to balance out well and in a timely manner the required changes in the range of products, the currently operative central planning preserves the unsatisfactory structure of production.

The center, which is concentrating on making decisions on things about which it cannot objectively decide, and which is constantly resolving inconsistencies stemming from its wrong decisions, does not as a result have enough time to do what it actually should be doing to benefit a socialist economy--develop basic, macroeconomic production and technological concepts, the so-called strategic planning, based on a mathematical evaluation of a multitude of pertinent information from the whole world, using optimization methods. The enterprises, instead of being better directed by the center than they could do by themselves from their narrower angle of vision, instead of being assigned programs which are progressive according to global economic criteria, are often forced as a result of the current method of operative central planning to act against good economic common sense. Information, pertinent to the decision making process at the central level, is of a different kind

than information necessary for making decisions at the enterprise level. Neither is the accessibility of either kind of information the same for the center and for the enterprises. The center therefore cannot supplant the enterprise management in the decision making process and vice versa. As long as the center has been doing so, its wrong and contradictory decisions, obvious at the enterprise level, gave rise to a lack of confidence on the part of enterprise workers in the ability of the center to manage the economy sensibly. The lack of confidence in the rationality of the subordinates and the superiors is therefore mutual.

A substantial strengthening of the rights and independence of enterprises on the one hand, and a basic change in the kind of work the center performs on the other, are therefore not just some momentarily desirable matter, in order to increase the initiative on the part of the people, for instance, but primarily a scientifically substantiated economic necessity under the conditions of a socialist production of goods.

In our economic thinking we have to overcome also many other individual erroneous dogma. For example, we have to change our defensive thinking about material costs, free ourselves of the idea that the principle of efficiency rests solely in the saving of materials and other costs of produced utility value. We have to think aggressively, endeavor to achieve a maximum cost effective utilization of resources, particularly by improving the value parameters of production inputs. Not to save materials to the detriment of the quality of goods and their esthetic level, not to save on packaging and advertising of the goods, on pre-marketing and follow-up service, etc., but rather to try alternate ways to achieve success in the marketplace, whether by the volume of sales or by the prices we get. Prices have to be viewed as the basic, key value category and an economic category in general, not as some more or less technical conversion co-efficient of various utility values. It is necessary to take the offensive vis-a-vis the world. The substitution of imports by the development and production of our own goods is greatly anti-efficient; it intensifies our lagging behind the rest of the world; we have to change over to a pro-export policy which, however, has to have a concept and has to be sufficiently flexible.

The changes in economic thinking, essential for creating a rational economic mechanism, or at least for the understanding of it, are not quite as simple as would appear from what has been written here so far. Contemporary management requires a high degree of specialization, a thorough knowledge of advanced economics. Without that it would be impossible to construct a good economic mechanism, but most of all, it would not be possible to provide good management within the framework of an economic mechanism no matter how good it may be. To rely solely on the restructuring of the economic mechanism without an entirely new method of training cadres for economic management is illusory.

## The Concept of the Comprehensive Experiment

If the restructuring of the economic mechanism is to have a realistic hope of succeeding, it will have to be conceived in a comprehensive and system-wide manner. Individual sub-systems and components of the system will have to be conceptualized in such a way that the system as a whole functions in accordance with the purpose for which it was designed. The system of planning and managing the national economy should function in such a way that the economy performs most efficiently, that the available production potential achieves the best possible results.

This basically very simple notion led us to suggest and, after approval, begin drafting at the macroeconomic department of the College of Economics in Prague the main task of the state plan for economic research, The Managing of the Efficiency of the Socialist Economy Using Mathematical and Statistical Methods. The principle of efficiency was also uppermost in our minds when we were requested by our contractual partner, the Czechoslovak Ministry of Industry, to provide close cooperation in conceptualizing today's comprehensive experiment of increasing the independence and responsibility of economic organizations to promote efficient development.

As far as economic efficiency is concerned, we made a critical analysis of the current methods of management as the first step of the total project. It is our position that only a comprehensive critical analysis of all the methods used so far to manage the national economy in all their mutual interconnections can form a basis for a systematic resolution of accumulated problems. The lack of success of the previous attempts to do away with some of the chronic maladies of our economy we ascribe to the fact that the measures which were taken were only piecemeal and that we attempted to remove the negative phenomena by issuing directives. It was forgotten that specific negative phenomena (such as excessive inventories, etc.) can be the result of a whole complex of interconnected primary economic causes and that without identifying and removing them it is not possible to minimize the negative phenomena in question to the necessary extent.

The analysis showed that in practically all the areas of management of the Czechoslovak economy anti-efficiency factors are dominant and that even the independent organization of the national economy is inefficient. Because of the extent of the analysis we cannot present in the framework of this article all the conclusions which we arrived at in regard to the individual areas of management. We can, however, sum up by saying that the conclusions of our analysis almost surprisingly corresponded to the evaluation of the situation in USSR and in Soviet official documents.

Of the individual areas of management, which have been analyzed, I have already criticized the central planning and the fiscal management of our economy. But by no means have I mentioned all the basic negative features of management in those areas. For instance, I did not mention the detrimental effect of the redistribution process that actually favors inefficient production.



In its own way a specific area where we also have had little success is the management of research and development, which has acquired all the bad practices of production management. Bureaucratic paperwork takes up a considerable amount of time of the managers, as a rule the top workers in science, research and development.

The change in managing the national economy--changing from administrative management to economic management--cannot be separated from the changes in its organization. Stereotyped, rigid, and costly organizational structures have to be replaced by flexible structures (specialized associations), and by much more economical ones. That will enable us to cut back substantially the management apparatus and abolish unnecessary units.

### Role of Value Categories

An important part of the necessary change in our thinking is also a change in how we view production of goods and value categories. Many economists still carry in their subconscious the thought that market-price relations are an element of management which we do not know how to do without entirely at this time, but which continues to lose importance in a socialist economy. However, this old lesson of the socialist political economy has been reevaluated even in this discipline already many years ago.

Value categories have to be understood as a system in which each category has a certain place and fulfills a certain function. Within the framework of this system, the degree of the efficiency of production is precisely defined. Considering the fact that the entirely specific measure of efficiency is the criterion by which we judge the current economic instruments, and that it is also the unifying element of the instruments which we used in the comprehensive experiment, I deem it useful at least to briefly define and characterize this method.

The measure of the efficiency of the production of a good is the measure of the replacement of the value itself, the relative growth of value within a time interval. It can be expressed as the function of two factors; the relationship of the cost of production (Q) to expenditures (N), which expresses the replacement of the value during the time of capital turnover, and the time of capital turnover measured most simply by the relationship of the average state of the capital (F) to the production costs within the chosen time frame.

The precise construction of an indicator is comparatively complicated, particularly considering the different rates of turnover of the capital. With certain simplifications, we can write:

$$e = \left( \frac{0}{N} \right)^{\overline{F}} - 1 \quad \text{or} \quad e = \left( \frac{H^b}{H^a} \right)^{\overline{H}^c} - 1$$

Symbols  $H^{a,b}$  and  $H^c$  express created value, defunct value and average value during the period under review. If the length of the period under review is different from customary time interval, usually a year, the equation has to reflect also the duration of that period.

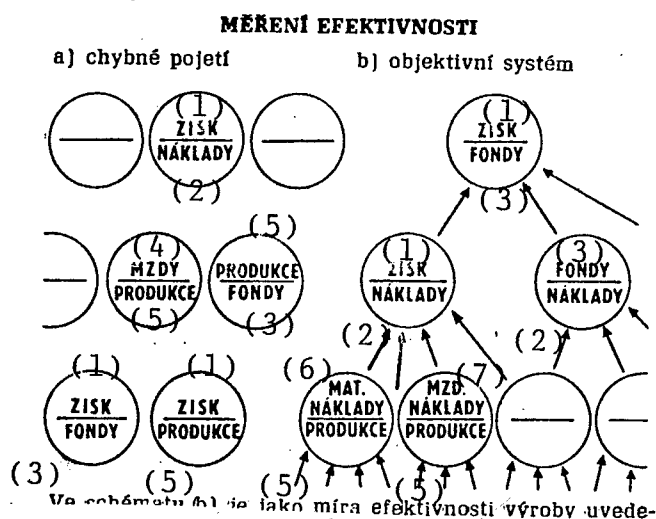
The meaning of the equation can be readily understood in an example: If the ratio of the price of production to cost is i.d (ratio of profit to cost 0.4) within a turnover time of 4 years, it means that the yearly growth of value is approximately 10 percent (0.4:4). It is exactly  $(1.4)^{0.25} - 1 = 0.0985$ , that is 9.85 percent.

If the ratio of price to cost is 1.2 (ratio of profit to cost 0.2) within a turnover time of 1 year, it means that the yearly growth or value is exactly 20 percent.

Even though in the second example the return on cost is half of that in the first example, the efficiency is more than double as result of a quadruple rate of capital turnover.

In our economic practice we do not know how to work with the rate of the capital turnover very well, particularly how to calculate it into the cost of production. However, this is not true only in the case of these two quantities. We treat indicators more as a number of equivalent units having no mutual connections, rather than as a system. That holds true also in the case of comparative indicators which are used to define efficiency. The contrast between our erroneous concept and the objective system is shown in the following schematic:

#### Measurement of Efficiency



[Key on following page]

Key:

- a) erroneous concept
- b) objective system
- 1. Profit
- 2. Cost
- 3. Capital
- 4. Wages
- 5. Production
- 6. Material Costs
- 7. Cost of Wages

In schematic b) the measure of production efficiency is expressed as the so-called capital profitability, which synthesizes both main factors of efficiency not exponentially but multiplicatively, as in the equation:

$$r = \frac{Z}{F} = \frac{Z}{N} \cdot \frac{N}{F} = \left(\frac{O}{N} - 1\right) \cdot \frac{N}{F}$$

When using a coefficient composition, the secondary valuation of capital is not taken into consideration.

The measure of the reproduction of value (or measure of profit or measure of capital valuation--if we use the more customary time intervals instead of the time interval of the reproduction of value) has no other rational alternative as a measure of efficiency. Everyone, whose management is done truly according to the khozraschet, will come to understand this. The relative growth of value is directly linked to the amount of profit (an absolute growth of value). Only a maximization of the reproduction of value, a maximum valuation of the means put into production, will create the best conditions for the development of enterprises and the entire national economy, because only profits are the measure of the utility of the production process. The other part of created value, the production costs, express consumption of production resources.

The topmost indicator in schematic b)--return on capital (as a simplified measure of the reproduction of value)--is expressed in the "pyramid" system as a function of factors of various ranks.

It is necessary to be aware that all indicators of a given rank have a compensatory relationship, that a better value of one indicator can compensate for a lesser value of another indicator. Because the value optimums of individual indicators from the point of view of the topmost indicator (from the point of view of maximum replacement of value) depend on a number of specific circumstances which only the enterprise knows, it is useless to centrally plan the values of any individual comparative indicator. Thus an obstacle to increasing efficiency can be not only the planning of the material cost of production but also the planning of the total cost of production. As can be seen from this simple example, the increase of the total costs can often be more than compensated for by increasing the rate of capital turnover; at present this occurs when efficient cooperative relationships are intensified. (I explained this problem in more detail in my article Less Romanticism in Indicators, HN No 14/1983).

## Regulating Wages and Prices

A thorough knowledge of and constant attention to the content and objective linkages of value quantities are essential not only for making correct decisions, but also for the proper development of individual economic instruments in the framework of the economic mechanism. I will make this clearer by citing the example of wage regulation. If we are to implement fully the principle of efficiency, it will be necessary to interest individual workers in it. In the draft of the experiment we therefore recommended to link the incentive component of wages to capital profitability. Even though this recommendation was accepted here and there, the prevailing opinion (which is also reflected in the Principles of Restructuring the Economic Mechanism), is that most useful is a linkage of the incentive component of wages to profit or with some other absolute indicator (i.e., net production).

Often forgotten in this connection is the different organizational composition of capital in various branches, enterprises and productions, and the possibility of an effective substitution of direct labor and embodied labor. The amount of total profits, as well as profits after levies, or profits which remain after adding to capital stock according to norms, varies depending on the efficiency of production in relation to the number of workers. Thus the incentive component also varies per worker when using the recommended wage regulation. If the substitution of direct labor by embodied labor is inefficient, wages could increase and vice versa.

To help understand this problem, I will cite an example: A certain enterprise has its production divided into several phases: the first of these phases, the processing of the basic materials, is very labor intensive. The enterprise decides to discontinue this phase and purchase material already processed to the stage needed for the second phase. It lets go a certain number of workers, transfers some to other phases where production increases according to the capacity of the equipment and the potential for marketing.

But it turns out that the material purchased in the higher degree of processing (for the original second phase) is too expensive, that after the necessary measures were taken the production costs increased substantially, and as a result profits and the overall efficiency of production declined even with a larger volume of production. When wages are linked to profits, such inefficient measures can lead to a nonsensical growth of the average wage, as long as profits decline relatively less than the number of workers.

Now let us imagine an entirely opposite situation: for example, that the enterprise in question realizes its mistake and tries to rectify it by returning to the original conditions. That, however, will be blocked by the decline in the average wage which had to take place even though the volume and ratio of profits will grow. (Quantities will grow more slowly than the number of workers.)

The likelihood that an unjustified increase in wages will occur, if they are linked to profits, will be greater because of the grants given to the enterprise by the center, which has to be expected if the center is to accelerate the desired structural and qualitative change.

The fundamental difference between the linkage of total wages to profit (util of production) and the linkage of the average wage to capital profitability (efficiency) is absolutely clear from the following:

$$M = Z \times \frac{M}{T} = \frac{Z}{F}$$

M--volume of wages (incentive components)

Z--profit

T--number of workers

It can be conclusively proven, that from the point of view of efficiency, it is wrong to link wages not only to profit, but also to an arbitrary other absolute indicator, such as net production.

If we wish to manage the economy successfully by using value categories, we cannot, to begin with, leave prices as they are now. Their formation on the basis of calculating the costs of our producers is wrong from the point of view of economic theory, from the philosophical point of view, as well as from the purely pragmatic point of view.

From the point of view of economic theory we determine the socially necessary cost of a product according to the costs of a small group of producers, often even a single producer, and we forget the other price-forming factors. In an economy open to the world, albeit only by means of foreign trade, it is not possible to confuse the socially necessary costs with the costs of producers in a given country. And the socially necessary costs are not the only price-forming factor, it is also the demand, which takes into consideration technical and esthetic parameters of the product, the reputation of the producer, his ability to supply the required quantity of deliveries, meet terms, provide service, etc. The ratio of supply to demand is also a basic factor in price formation.

Given our concept of determining prices by cost, we create, from the point of view of defining the efficiency of production, a vicious circle. We determine prices by using costs and efficiency (chosen by us) and then we follow up by defining and calculating efficiency from prices and costs.

Pragmatically speaking, we can criticize our prices in a number of respects. For example, when selling abroad, our prices have no relationship with what we actually get from our products. At home the producer is sovereign. Our prices have little relationship to global value criteria, and they give a quite different impression of the development of our economy than do prices by which the world values our products according to international standards. And what is most basic, the optimums and decisions concerning our prices have nothing in common with global value criteria, which makes it impossible to

incorporate ourselves rationally into the worldwide division of labor. If we add to this the inflexibility of our prices and other negative aspects, we have to agree with many other critics that the fundamental change in our thinking has to come in the way we determine prices. Our entire domestic pricing system has to be linked to what our economy as a whole markets abroad, for what it actually buys other products, and this linkage has to be economic, not administrative.

If our prices remain detached from the real prices of inputs and outputs of our economy, we shall continue to behave irrationally, as does an enterprise whose own internal prices are unrelated to prices for which it actually sells and buys; as a result the enterprise will make decisions (optimize) according to its own internal prices which are, from the point of view of managing the enterprise, disinformative.

### Linking Science With Practice

To construct a well-functioning, complicated mechanism without taking into account scientific developments is today impossible in any field. It is impossible in the case of an economic mechanism as well.

A close cooperation between science and practice proved to be extremely beneficial even when conceptualizing the comprehensive experiment. It can be said without exaggerating that the atmosphere in which the two partners worked--exchanging ideas with conflicting specific positions as a result of looking at the same problem from different angles, patience in resolving individual problems while working at a high degree of intensity, a systematic movement forward--albeit often with only piecemeal results, readiness on everyone's part to meet anytime after working hours, all that was beyond what is usual today. Each participant in the work group was also in contact with a number of other specialists in appropriate fields, in order to present truly qualified opinions.

It became apparent that none of us have been able to rid ourselves completely of the old way of thinking. In one context we suppress it, in another it returns. And for that reason, the discussions of the problems by the entire collective were so useful, because there was always someone who recognized a residue of the old way of thinking and gave the resolution of a specific problem a rational direction. Logically, the concept encountered the barrier of the old thinking even in discussion during the recapitulation procedures, and particularly when it was being incorporated into the rules of the comprehensive experiment.

Using scientific observations as the basis for our work has a close connection to our interest in the Soviet restructuring of the economic mechanism. There is only one kind of socialist market-price relations, and thus it is not possible to conceptualize substantially different economic mechanisms in various socialist countries. And because progressive Soviet economists gave the impetus to the Soviet restructuring and have been formulating its concept for some time, we focused our attention on the Soviet restructuring. We also

made use of the work of those of our scientists who not so long ago were comparatively alone in pointing out the reasons why basic changes in the management were necessary, in particular of the work of a group of workers at the Central Institute for Macroeconomic Research. We consulted with them as well.

In formulating the concept of the comprehensive experiment we tried to avoid any attempts at Czechoslovak "originalities", which in the past led to piling mistakes upon mistakes and even to using such terminology that the world ceased to understand us (adjusted value added, for example). On the contrary, we tried to give maximum attention to world science and economic terminology.

We have no illusions that everything has been resolved, that we made no mistakes. Constructing a rational mechanism of managing a socialist economy is not easy. That is what gave rise to the comprehensive experiment--not as some chance attempt, but as a specific "prototype or a verification series: to test out how the mechanism would work under current Czechoslovak socio-economic conditions. A mechanism, constructed according to basically common principles of restructuring the economic mechanism in socialist countries, and therefore also consistent with the recently issued Principles of Restructuring the CSSR Economic Mechanism, has to take into account in its details the specifics of individual countries and, among other things, also many specific distortions which cannot be removed at one stroke.

The importance of the science of economics for practical management will increase substantially following the restructuring. Correct strategic decisions at the macroeconomic level, as well as correct decision making at the enterprise level within the much broader scope for decision making and the need to make decisions to promote efficiency, will require highly educated, specialized managers. Managers, who will be able to understand and work with economic quantities and all the informatics, as well as with the statistical and optimization methods of evaluating data, and who will be able to use computer technology. And above all, such essential quantitative economists, with a comprehensive and thorough familiarity with the entire economic mechanism, have to be trained at the higher schools of economics. We could use such graduates even now.

The objective demands of economic practices on managers using the new method of managing the national economy are such, that the method of training economists in colleges and at the post-graduate level is not equal to them. But not only education in economics but education in general needs to be qualitatively changed. The time, when the training in the schools of economics devoted disproportionately too much time to verbal contemplation, sometimes about unprovable dogma at variance with practice, should be gone forever.

Quantification, measurement, and calculation are the characteristic features of the science and its development. After all, even Karl Marx based his "Das Kapital" on a perfect knowledge of economic calculations (viz comments of Friedrich Engels in "Das Kapital").

But not just any quantitative information necessary for management will do. Modern management needs information appropriate to its objective needs. It will be necessary, therefore, to make a thorough, critical analysis of our information system, statistics in particular, as the most comprehensive system of qualitative information about the national economy.

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## STATISTICS ON CHURCHGOERS

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian 30 April 87 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Who Goes to Church?"]

[Text] What kind of role, what size role does religion play in our society, how large is the number of religious people, how many go to church? It is hard to provide an accurate response to these questions. We examined the third question--how many people go to church--on the basis of a national representative sample. Almost every tenth respondent states that he or she goes to church regularly, alternatively to some other religious community.

It is apparent that the ratio of churchgoers, of religious people is related to age brackets and to places of residence. Our data is stratified on the basis of education, but it should be noted that among those having lower educational levels, older people and those residing in the countryside predominate.

Every fifth of those who did not complete the eighth grade is a frequent churchgoer, and only half of these individuals do not go to church at all. In this respect, this group can be sharply delineated from all the other groups of society. Skilled workers and vocational school graduates are less frequent churchgoers. Those who received higher education (mainly engineers, educators, social workers, kindergarten teachers) are the least frequent churchgoers. Those who received a classical education in high school go to church in a greater proportion than those who completed vocational schools. Perhaps the most interesting finding is that one in every ten holder of a university degree goes to church frequently. The trend that shows a decrease in religious participation as the educational level increases changes at the highest levels of education.

One cannot say that generally speaking, going to church is an accurate indicator of religious sentiment. The relationship is undeniable, nevertheless. The data is based on individual inquiries. To a certain degree the issue may be viewed as sensitive. Therefore it is possible that some of the respondents were not sincere and that the number of churchgoers is indeed greater than what the sampling shows. Accordingly, the data reflects minimums.

FREQUENCY OF CHURCH VISITS	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL							AVERAGE
	Average be- low 8 grades	8 Elementary grades	Skilled worker	Vocational education	Classical education	Academy	University	
None	53.5	73.4	84.4	85.0	82.4	91.0	82.7	71.2
Seldom	28.4	19.6	14.3	12.3	12.8	4.9	7.1	19.6
Often	18.1	7.0	1.3	2.7	4.8	4.1	10.2	9.2
TOTALS	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	3,671	3,809	1,417	1,113	983	344	381	11,718

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## NEW RETIREMENT LAW UNDER CONSIDERATION

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 May 87 p 4

[Interview with dr Adam Forgacs, deputy director of the National Social Security Directorate by Ibolya Balint: "For Greater Financial and Social Security--a Discussion Concerning the New Pension Law"]

[Text] The kind of recognition that is accorded to senior citizens following a life's work, whether they receive financial and social security, whether the opportunity for peaceful relaxation is established, in plain English: the quality of care of retired persons is an important criterion in judging the value of society and of the social system. Over the past forty years, our society which is building socialism increasingly accepted the task of providing for the aged, while it gradually expanded the popular base that is subject to social security provisions. By virtue of our desire to adjust our social security system to the requirements of the modern era, we have reached a new stage of development. We discussed the preparations with dr Adam Forgacs, deputy director of the National Social Security Directorate.

[Question] What necessitates the review of the pension system?

[Answer] At present 300 million people in Hungary receive pensions, or forms of support that have the characteristics of pension. The affected individuals constitute 21.5 percent of the population. Related expenses consume 11.4 percent of the national income and amount to 70 percent of all social security expenses. I must backtrack in time in order to be able to answer your question. Historically, our present pension system has evolved over several decades, in response to prevailing economic and social circumstances. The first unified pension system applicable to employed persons went into effect in 1952. The National Assembly provided a social security law applicable to members of agricultural cooperatives in 1958, and in 1975 uniform social security rules were made applicable to all strata. Pursuant to the 1952 provisions, for instance, a male worker's basic pension at the age of 60 amounted to 15 percent of his average wages. The second pension law enacted in 1954 raised the base pension for the aged to 50 percent of the average wages. An extremely important step was taken in 1959, when new rules made it possible to compute pension eligibility on the basis of years of work

performed since 1929, and at the same time individuals who retired earlier received supplemental pensions for their services during the 1929-1945 period. Eligibility for pensions was subsequently broadened gradually to cover members of small trade cooperatives, small tradesmen, small merchants, helping family members and small agricultural producers. Finally, in 1983, practically all working strata became eligible to receive pensions, irrespective of the form of their past activity, or from their past employment relationships.

### The Law Was Beneficial

[Question] What was the significance of the 1975 Social Security Law?

[Answer] The 1975 law combined and codified the three pension systems that were treated separately before, and eliminated most of the discrepancies. The pension scale was made uniform with respect to every stratum, the retirement age for agricultural workers was changed to coincide with that of other workers, and established more favorable pension eligibility criteria than those provided before. That law was beneficial--it was beneficial within the economic and social environment in which it was created. Since then circumstances have changed quite substantially. Part of the public views the pension system as unfavorable, and we will not argue: the view is justified. In spite of efforts, we were unable to preserve the real purchasing power of pensions. A rather large number of individuals receive extremely low amounts, the difference between old pensions and newly established pensions is increasing, just as today's earnings capacity is different from the old earnings capacity. The present pension system does not fully reflect the principle upon which it was based: receiving a pension is a right based on work and on the payment of contributions.

[Question] What are our experiences compared to other countries?

[Answer] International data reveals that generally speaking other countries have a higher retirement age than we do. In Poland, the GDR, Austria, and England the retirement age for men is 65, and 60 for women. There are differences in the minimum service period to reach vesting. While in Hungary at present the vesting period is 10 years, in the CSR it is uniformly set at 25 years. In Romania this period is 30 years for men and 25 years for women, while in Yugoslavia it stands at 40 and 35 years respectively. Other conditions that determine the pension base also vary greatly. In Bulgaria pensions are based on a choice of three consecutive years' earnings over the last 15 year period, in the GDR they consider the last 20 years, in England it is a chosen 20 year span during working life, etc. Generally speaking, however, pensions under each system reflect earnings during a prolonged period of time. In the majority of European countries there exist minimum and maximum pension limits. The manner in which the purchasing power of pensions is being preserved in the various countries also differs. There are countries that provide periodic raises in pensions, and there are others--usually the developed nations--which adjust pensions according to annual wage indexes, alternatively, some countries use a combination of the wage index and the cost of living index to establish pension rates. We cannot disregard what has become common practice in most Western European nations: various forms of voluntary insurance, which supplement pensions. In Hungary we can only find the initial traces of this form.

## According To Work Performed

[Question] Considering the above, what direction are we taking?

[Answer] We must improve the internal rules of social security and we must provide financial resources to cover the changes. These two steps cannot be perceived independent from each other. The rules provided by the 1975 law do not permit the basic principle to consistently prevail, this being the increased reflection in the establishment of pensions of time spent at work. According to the present scale, pension raises after 10-25 years of service amount to 2 percent annually, from 25-32 years it is 1 percent, and thereafter it is a mere one half of 1 percent. There are no raises based upon service longer than 42 years. Simply put: the present scale places a lesser value on long-term service than on short term service. Another problem can be seen in the fact that the rules for dependent support were not adjusted to reflect the changed economic and social circumstances. Only female widows are eligible for support and the level of support is extremely low. The changes required and still require a rather long preparatory period. Many factors must be weighed before decisions can be made. In the preparatory period of the seventh 5-year plan it seemed that we would have reserves to accomplish the most urgent tasks: the preservation of the purchasing power of pensions and a raise in pensions. Lately, however, it became apparent that our economic capacity is smaller than we thought. Accordingly, the pension system itself must be changed. According to our earlier estimates this task would have been accomplished later. The most important goal is that the new system produce a situation in which earnings expressed are proportionate to length of service and to work accomplishment as well as utility. Accordingly, we must change the present practice by which pensions are based on the earnings of the last three years of service. As we perceive it today, future pensions must be based on the earnings of a substantial part of active life, and must provide a greater degree of social security and more durable financial guarantees. They must reflect a movement in the pensions of retired persons that works in tandem with changes in the earnings of working age groups.

## Long-Term Funding

[Question] In what ways can you provide funding to cover all these endeavours?

[Answer] To begin with I should emphasize that we are not talking about one-time funding. We are talking about the establishment of long-term funding. We would prefer to establish these funding sources over the next few years through the growth of production of an income-producing economy, but we cannot count on that as of this moment. Therefore, the additional funds will have to be produced through the sacrifice of today's workers, and that can be done in two ways. First, we can modify the retirement age, and second, we can increase pension contributions. Through these actions today's workers would not only help the situation of the presently retired persons, but would also be instrumental in establishing the foundations for their future pensions. There is no question about the fact that the extent to which we can secure funding determines our ability to implement the changes.

[Question] What would those changes be?

[Answer] First, what we have discussed already: the protection of the purchasing power of pensions within a broader circle. On the other hand the extremely low pensions would have to be raised through central action, and the support of widows would have to be increased. We need money to cover a recognition for years spent in full time study at universities and academies. This idea is being considered. We also need money to recognize as additional time of service the raising of children--crediting two years for each child, with a maximum limit of six years. We need money so that finally, in the scale of pensions more money be allotted for longer service periods, while the initial amount would not decrease. Among the perceptions there is an idea according to which pension calculations would be based upon the earnings of five years immediately preceding retirement age, as well as another idea, which would extend the service period beyond 42 years. Among the suggestions there is another favorable idea, according to which the maximum pension could reach as high as 80 percent of the base period earnings, rather than the present 75 percent. As perceived, the new system would determine maximum and minimum limits for pensions, reducing the great differences that presently exist.

[Question] Modification of age limit and an allowance for age?

[Answer] The two are not mutually exclusive. There are foreign examples for this. Among other countries, in Austria the age limit is 65 and 60 for men and women respectively, but upon reaching a certain age limit, within five years prior to reaching the retirement age, one may elect early retirement. It was proposed that during the preparatory period Hungary too should have something similar. Aside from everything else: age limits do not constitute inflexible categories. The new pension system is prepared to provide a method by which citizens would have a greater latitude in deciding when to retire. At the same time the change in age limit does not affect types of work with special, favored considerations from the viewpoint of age.

[Question] Modification of age limits and occupational policies?

[Answer] These two concepts are in apparent contradiction. But the contradiction is merely an appearance. True, as a result of economic reorganization there are or there may be temporary difficulties in job placement. True, for demographic reasons the number of those newly entering the workforce will have increased by 1990. The resolution of these temporary problems, however, are typical occupational policy tasks which can be accomplished through more rational, more effective workforce management--the kind that is taking shape now. As I stated before, modification of age limits is particularly needed in order to increase the financial resources necessary to implement the pension policy change. Age groups that continue to work longer will not only increase their own pension base. They are also going to create excess value. On the other hand, this is the price we must pay so that future pensions fulfill their intended purpose: relaxed, well-deserved rest. If we can indeed provide more social security for the aged through the upcoming changes, the social force that puts the elderly back to work will have ceased to exist. Nevertheless, anyone whose strength and health permits will be able to work after having reached retirement age, and will be able to work in addition to receiving pension.

## Awaiting Decisions

[Question] Issues pertaining to the change in the pension system are in the forefront of everyone's mind. Judging by the experience to date, how do people view the various alternatives?

[Answer] According to the experience gained from social debate so far suggests that there is a chance that citizens will accept the changes, because in their total effect they will result in a pension system that is more favorable than the one we now have. During the change-over from the old system to the new one we will have to have a transitional period, during which time those affected may choose which system they prefer for their own retirement. Thorough guidance of prospective retirees will be indispensable, and this will have to be done at the appropriate time. Following the decisions and following the announcement of actions, the younger age groups will have sufficient time to prepare to manage their lives according to the new conditions. All of us will increasingly benefit from the planned changes by being able to share the increased financial and social security, even if it was achieved through sacrifices. We consider the suggestions we receive, we amend recommendations that were developed so far, and then the issue will be placed before state and political forums. Final decisions can be made only thereafter.

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CSO: 2500/367

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